THE·LETTERS·AND SPEECHES·OF OLIVER·CROMWELL

THOMAS·CARLYLE

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THE LETTERS AND SPEECHES OF OLIVER CROMWELL

VOL. III.

THE LETTERS AND SPEECHES OF OLIVER CROMWELL

WITH ELUCIDATIONS

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE

EDITED IN THREE VOLUMES
WITH NOTES, SUPPLEMENT AND ENLARGED INDEX
BY

S. C. LOMAS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

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OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

PART X

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT

1657-1658

LETTER CCXV., CCXVI

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place;[1] which offer a rather singular contrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

LETTER CCXV

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

---

[1] [Between these two would come, if it existed, a letter which on December 22, 1656, was read in Parliament from the Protector, "concerning the arrears due to the Cheshire Brigade, who bore a great share in the heat of Worcester fight, and ever since have been unpaid." The petition which accompanied it was referred to a committee.]

To the Mayor of Newcastle: To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern

Whitehall, 18th December 1656.

GENTLEMEN, AND MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS,

My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a letter written from yourselves to him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward good, either personal or as you are a civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are saints, to your congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other:—'this' will be so far from being actually discountenanced, or passively 'left to' suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me: I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and Mr. Pye, did present to me a letter in the name of divers Ministers in Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland, of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an answer thereunto (a true copy whereof I send you here enclosed), by which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition 'there' expressed, which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, that you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the servants and churches of Christ; knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it, who, when He comes to gather His people, and to make Himself a name and a praise amongst all the people of the earth,—He will save him that halteth, and gather her that was driven out, and will get them praise and fame in every land, where they have been put to shame.[1] And such lame ones and driven-out ones were not only the Independents and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations, but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands, persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the flock of Christ, who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you, I have thought fit to commend these few words to you; being well assured it is written in your heart, so to do with this that I shall stand by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

---

[1] Zephaniah iii. 19, 20.

* Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand. [In response to this letter, the "Churches at Newcastle" presented an address to the Protector, gratefully thanking him for his "singular affection and most Christian tenderness" to them as shown in his letter to the Mayor: assuring him that they have received with all gladness his "many inculcated exhortations to love the whole flock of Christ, though not walking in the same order of the Gospel," and ending as follows: "When we consider how many of the precious sons of Sion have fled into a roaring wilderness to enjoy the tabernacle of God, and were glad of it; and that we should under our vines and fig-trees not only enjoy the privileges of the Gospel but have the protection and encouragement of the supreme powers of the nation, our hearts are drawn out to bless the Lord, and pray with the church for David (Psalm xx.), 'The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee, send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Sion.'" Printed in *Nickoll's Original Letters and Papers of State*, p. 138.]

LETTER CCXVI[1]

Cardinal Mazarin, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is Treaty with France, and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-mothers, and one knows not what: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient-servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen-out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers, and back-stairs diplomacies, on the Cardinal's:—of which there flit, in the dreariest manner, this and the other enigmatic vestige in the night-realm of *Thurloe;*[2] and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A letter unique in two respects. It is the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches;[3] who are a very singular pair of Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which by a hard necessity so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this 'our weightiest affair,'—not without weight to *me* at least, who sit expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present 'on the word of a Christian King!'—

Concerning the 'affair' itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The 'Person' employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country in woman's clothes; and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. 'Berkley' is the Sir John

---

[1] [Letter CCXVII. is dated a day earlier than this one.]

[2] iv. 506; v. 753; &c. &c.

[3] Three insignificant official Notes to him: in Appendix, Nos. 27, 28. [See also Supplement, No. 125.]

Berkley who rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since;[1] the Duke of York's Tutor at present. Of 'Lockhart,' Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others,—let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive, never so faintly, that their 'affair' is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion; notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide:—as accordingly we find it did for many months,[2] whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin'

'Whitehall,' 26th December 1656.

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage 'me' to make returns suitable and commensurate to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?), at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stand, answer to your call for Toleration.[3]

---

[1] *Antea*, i. 285.

[2] Thurloe, iv. v. vi.: see also *Biog. Brit.* (2d edition), ii. 154. [See note 2, on next page.]

[3] To the Catholics here. [A month before this, on Nov. 24, old style, Bordeaux wrote to Brienne that he had spoken to the Secretary concerning certain imprisoned priests, "tesmoignant que le roy [de France] se sentiroit obligé si, en sa consideration, tant eux que les Catholiques d'Angleterre estoient traittés avec moins de rigueur que par le passé." On Dec. 1-11, he wrote to Mazarin, saying that if he thought well to take up the cause of the English Catholics, the *memoires* of certain priests should be sent to him. But he entirely corroborates the statement in Oliver's letter concerning the leniency shown in England. His church is more frequented, he says, than that of any ambassador has ever been before. Every festival, three or four thousand attend, and are in no way molested as they go out, not even the priests who serve; a thing which the Queen was never able to prevent, nor the Spanish ambassador in the time of the Parliament. He fears, however, that the Protector will not grant anything further, his policy being to testify to the public an extraordinary zeal for the Protestants; and Parliament seems inclined to revive some of the old penal laws. On Dec. 8-18, he announced to the Cardinal that some of the chief Catholics had been that day with him, praying for the intervention of the King, his master. He has promised to see the Protector on the subject and even if refused, the request will show that Spain is not alone in zeal for religion, and after such refusal, the English government would not be able to meddle in favour of the Huguenots of France. It would, he thinks, be well for the King first to write to the Protector, but without its appearing that he had been instigated to it. It was no doubt in consequence of this suggestion that Mazarin sent the letter to which the above is the answer, but it is evident that Oliver was also negotiating matters with Mazarin of which the French ambassador knew nothing; for no trace appears in Bordeaux' letters to the Cardinal in relation to the business of the Duke of York.]

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, plucked many out of the fire,[1]—the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that person to whom you have entrusted our weightest affair: an affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry on that work; that either the Duke had cooled in his suit,[2] or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290[1] were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so particular as, 'in regard' to some circumstances, I would.—If I am not mistaken in his 'the Duke's' character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send your Eminency by Lockhart.

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[1] Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable Epistle, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

[2] His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-Spanish notion. [At the time Cromwell wrote, the question of James leaving France had long been settled. In obedience to his brother's commands he reluctantly quitted Paris on Sept. 10 and travelled to Bruges, having a curious little rencontre with Cromwell's ambassador by the way. Soon afterwards, at Charles's bidding, he entered the Spanish service, saying in response to the remonstrances of his friends in Paris that Mazarin only wanted to prevent him from doing so in order to retain the Irish troops in his service, and that his duty obliged him to obey his brother. But meanwhile a fresh difficulty arose, owing to the intrigues of a certain party of the King's followers and of the Duke's own people (headed by Sir Henry Bennet) to obtain the dismissal of Sir John Berkeley, the Duke's "governor," and to replace him by Sir George Ratcliffe. On Christmas Eve, new style (Dec. 14, old style) the King sent his positive commands that Berkeley should depart. The Duke agreed,

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach 'be' widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with some caution in respect of the persons to be added to it,—I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and 'I' will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am,

Your servant,
OLIVER P.*

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but two or three days later withdrew himself from the Court and followed his friend into Holland. It was at this juncture that the Protector's letter was written. What Berkeley's "work" was, is not very apparent. There were rumours that he was in communication with Cromwell, but if so, his young master had no suspicion of it, for he speaks of him always with the utmost affection. Cromwell's hopes were not justified, for the King yielded, sent for the Duke, allowed Berkeley to be reinstated and soon afterwards made him a peer. (See *Life of James II.*, taken from his own memoirs; vol. i. pp. 270-293.) Thurloe's correspondents were suspicious that the quarrel between the two brothers was imaginary, and that the Duke's going into Flanders was part of a plot for his passing into England, but the Duke's own memoirs make no mention of any such project.]

[1] Cipher for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance Bamfield. [But in Thurloe, 883 is Bamfield. (Vol. v. p. 754.).]

* Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a 'Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex,' says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even as to the latter point. The style sufficiently declares it to be a genuine letter. [It will also be found in a collection of tracts, etc., relating to Cromwell, *B. M. Press Mark* 669, f. 20 (42). For answer to Carlyle's question, see Editor's Note, I. liv.]

SPEECH VI

SINDERCOMB

The Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; 'riding among his Highness's escort' in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with 'gate-hinges ready filed through,' if the deed could have been done;—but it never could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination-affair in other hands, with 1,600*l.* of ready money, 'on the faith of a Christian King.' Quartermaster Sindercomb takes Sexby's place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow;—then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped overnight, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner,—in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quartermaster; has become one of Sexby's people, 'on the faith of a Christian King;' nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter *dark*. Henry Toope, one of his Highness's Life-guard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the 1,600*l.*, said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith;

Garden-House, I think, 'which had a banqueting-room looking into the road;' road very narrow at that part;—road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force,—ancient 'infernal-machines,' in fact,—with these he will blow his Highness's Coach and Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not please Heaven,—probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's Lifeguard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his 1,600*l.*, had to try something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has 'a hundred swift horses, two in a stable, up and down:'—set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and try. Thursday, 8th January 1656-7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday, January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel; is seen loitering there afterwards, 'near the Lord Lambert's seat.' Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire;—finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wildfire, 'fit almost to burn through stones,'—with lit match slowly creeping towards it, computed to reach it in some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight!—His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned;—alas, Toope of the Lifeguard is examined, and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, 'wherein his nose was nearly cut off;' bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches:—inventive Sindercomb has failed for the *last* time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him!—The emotion in the Parliament and in the Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.[1]

This Parliament, really intent on settling the Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of

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[1] Burton, i. 322, 3, 355; Official narrative (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 160, 161); *State-Trials*, v. § Sindercomb.

Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come four weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the mean time we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect tohim.[1]

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with mellifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday, 23d January 1656-7 about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Mellifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;[2] but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply;—rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, 'part of an ancient wooden staircase,' or balustrade of a staircase, 'long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;'[3] and some honourable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Mellifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers:

Mr. Speaker,

I confess with much respect, that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion:—but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which you have now expressed. I speak not this with compliment! That that detracts from the thing, in some sense, is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I must readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That the life that is lengthened, may be spent and improved to His honour that hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you, and those you 're'present.

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[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 481, 484, 493; Burton's *Diary*, i. 369, 377.

[2] Burton, ii. 488. [Also in *Mercurius Politicus* (E. 500, 20). "He was but short, because of his infirmity of body by sickness."]

[3] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162. See Thurloe (vi. 49), and correct poor Noble (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says my Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August 1657. [There is nothing about this in Thurloe, vi. p. 49, or indeed anywhere. But on pp. 493, 496 are allusions to the Lord Richard's "dangerous fall" in the following August. While out hunting in the New Forest his horse fell with him, and he broke his thigh and put his knee out of joint. (See *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1657, 1658, pp. 84, 87.) Richard did not however entirely escape when this accident occurred in January. A newsletter in the *Clarke MSS.* says "down fell many of the members, *viz.*: the Lord Richard Cromwell, whose shoulder was much bruised; Mr. Solicitor General Ellis, one of whose legs was broken; Lieut.-Col. White, whose arm is said to be broken, with many other members prejudiced." (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 87.). Bordeaux, after briefly mentioning the Speaker's harangue and the Protector's acknowledgments, observes: "La joye de ceste action fust un peu interrompu par l'accident qui arriva à son fils aisné. Il ne luy en est néantmoins resté que quelques meurtrissures."]

I do not know, nor I did not think it would be very seasonable for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the kindness you bear forth[1] should kindle a little desire in me, even at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have been disposed hither by the Providence of God to congratulate my mercy, so give me leave, in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. [*Rusty, but sincere.*]

Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed upon men, or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good *you* are in possession of, and in some respect, I also with you. God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it,—Three Nations, and all that appertains to them, which in either a geographical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [*Indisputably!*] In which also there are places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world, —without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! [*Here is an idea of one's own.*] But 'tis a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu.* And therefore this is a possession of yours, worthy congratulation.

This is furnished,—give me leave to say, for I believe it is true,—with the best People in the world, possessing so much soil. A People in civil rights,—in respect of their rights and privileges,—very ancient and honourable. And *in* this People, in the midst of this People, 'you have, what is still more precious,' a *People* (I know every one will hear 'and acknowledge' it) that are to God "as the apple of His eye,"—and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection. A People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [*We hope so!*] And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things.

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[1] [This word omitted by Carlyle. Probably it should be "for me."]

Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and ordinances, which, though not so (all of them) conformable as were to be wished to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, pretend not to be long rested-in, further than *as* they are conformable to the just and righteous Laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. [*Yea!*] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break forth. [*And we shall actually have just Laws, your Highness thinks?*] That endeavours will be 'made' that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart 'I think' you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a Magistracy that, in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these Laws. And I am confident that among *you* will rest nothing but a desire to promote every desire in others, and every endeavour that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these Laws in execution. I do 'also' for this congratulate you.

You have a Gospel Ministry among you. That have you! Such an one as,—without vanity I 'shall' speak it, or without caring at all for any favour or respect from *them*, save what I have upon an account above flattery, or good words,—such an one as hath excelled itself; and, I am persuaded,—to speak with confidence before the Lord,—is the most growing blessing (one of the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

You have a good Eye 'to watch over you,'—and in that I will share with your good favours. A good God;[1] a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm; and bore His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, against those that 'would' have abused such Nations,—such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up to you! A God that hath not only withstood such to the face, but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidences of His goodness and presence. And He "hath done things wonderful amongst us," "by terrible things in righteousness."[2] He hath visited us by wonderful things! [*A Time of Miracle; as indeed all "Times" are, your Highness, when there are* Men *alive in them!*] In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak this, one to another; and to speak of His mercies, as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [*Where now are the Star-Chambers, High-Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land? The Hangmen with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-sprinkled Pillories in Old Palaceyard, and Four clean Surplices at Allhallowtide,—where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!*]

Truly, this word of conclusion. If these things be so, give me leave to remember you but one word; which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you,[3] which would be a good conclusion of my speech now at this time to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better do it than by thinking of such words as these, "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him," "that glory may dwell in our land!" I would not comment upon it. I hope I fear Him ;—and let us more fear Him ! If this 'present' mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth,—let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him [*Amen !*] than we have done,[1] seeing such a blessing as His salvation "is nigh them that fear Him,"—seeing we are all of us representatives of all the good of all these lands, 'to endeavour with our whole strength' "that glory may dwell in our land."

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[1] [Perhaps the true reading here is: "you have a good—aye, and in that I will share with your favours—a good God."]

[2] Isaiah, xxv. 1; Psalm lxv. 5.

[3] [Psalm lxxxv.]

'Yes,' if this be so, "Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other." We shall know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory, how to dispose our severity. How to distinguish betwixt obedient and rebellious children ;—and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons he did not *hear* well of them, when perhaps he *saw* ill *by* them. And we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say that though I will not descant upon the words,—Mercy must be joined with Truth : Truth, in that respect, that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, as well as to apply kindness and mercy. And, truly, Righteousness and Peace[2] must kiss each other. If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of Justice and Righteousness. [*Hear this Lord Protector !*] And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this double[3] Couple together, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace,—you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no ! And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, shall be my daily prayer. And I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you.*

On Monday 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench ; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, "Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed;" the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. 'He was of that wretched sect called *Soul-Sleepers*, who believe that the soul falls *asleep* at death:'[1] a gloomy, far-misguided man. They buried him on Tower-hill with due ignominy, and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.[2]

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[1] [Carlyle printed—"Then we have done, 'that includes all,'"—but "then" is merely the old spelling of "than."]

[2] [Carlyle, apparently by accident, printed "mercy."]

[3] [Printed "redoubtable" by Carlyle, following the mis-reading in Burton.]

* Burton's *Diary* (from *Lansdowne MS.* 755, f. 40), ii. 490-3. [Printed now from the *MS.*, *i.e.*, the report sent to John Pell, the English agent at Zurich ; sent by Hartlib, as appears from the handwriting of the address, and the seal.]

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, 'the Honourable House, after hearing two Sermons at Margaret's 'Westminster, partook of a most princely Entertainment,' by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. 'After dinner his Highness withdrew to the Cockpit; and there entertained them with 'rare music, both of voices and instruments, till the evening;'[3] his Highness being very fond of music. In this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them;—and now we will speak of something else.

LETTER CCXVII.; SPEECHES VII.—XIV

KINGSHIP

THIS Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or 'hundred Excluded Members' are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis.[1] Since the First constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-years Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be;—but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans,—the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, or he could never have been the Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse!—To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunkey head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunkey. If not the noblest and worshipfullest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying!—

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[1] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162.

[2] 'Equal to a Roman in virtue,' says the noisy Pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, which seems to have been written by Sexby; though Titus, as adroit King's-Flunkey at an after-period, saw good to claim it. A Pamphlet much noised-of in those months and afterwards; recommendation of persons to *assassinate* Cromwell;—has this merit, considerable or not, and no other worth speaking of. [In the Narrative touching Col. Edward Sexby (*Newspapers*, E. 748, 617) Sexby is said to have "owned" the book called *Killing no Murder*. Possibly, however, he only meant that he owned its principles, for he goes on to criticise certain statements in it, as "foolishly and knavishly done." The author of the answer appears to have believed it was Titus, as he says that the pseudonym "Allen" no doubt stands for alien. Mr. Firth has come to the conclusion that it was their joint production. See his article in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1902.]

[3] Newspapers (in Burton, i. 377); *Commons Journals*, vii. 493.

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, let us praise this Second Parliament;—admit nevertheless that its History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to little. This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester his Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitution-pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary routine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expected of them, some needful modicum of supplies; 'debated whether it should be debated,' 'put the 'question whether this question should be put;'—and in a mild way neutralised one another, and as it were handsomely *did nothing*, and left Oliver to do. A Record of their proceedings has been jotted down by one of their Members there present, who is guessed rather vaguely by Editorial sagacity to have been 'one Mr. Burton.' It was saved from the fire in late years, that Record; has been printed under the title of *Burton's Diary;* and this Editor has faithfully read it,—not without wonder, once more, at the inadequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimmering of insight to the distant human mind! Alas, the human pen, oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantry, is a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, this poor Burton,—let us continue to call him 'Burton,' though that was not his name,—cared nothing about these matters himself; merely jotted them down *pedantically*, by impulse from without,—that he might seem, in his own eyes and those of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts 'of an high nature.' And now, by what possibility of chance, can he interest thee or me about them; now when they have turned out to be facts of no nature at all,—mere wearisome *ephemera*, and cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and ashes now; which the healthy human mind resolutely, not without impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, as so many are, with mere dim inanity, and moaning wind. Will nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four thick octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some streaks of dull light shining even through *it;* perhaps, in judicious hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be made of it;—and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper Index, might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his *Diary*,—who, as we say, is not 'Mr. Burton' at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was![1] Undoubtedly some very dull man.

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[1] [Thurloe often speaks of this with satisfaction in his letters to Pell. "The Protector and the Parliament do agree very well" (October 9)—" The Parliament do mostly intend the reformation of the law and the raising of money for prosecuting the Spanish war. . . . This and the agreement which is between his Highness and them is a great cause of the quiet we have in all the parts of this nation" (Nov. 13)—" There has lately fallen out some question between his Highness and the Parliament as to the jurisdiction of the Parliament, as to their judicature without the Protector [see letter ccxvii.], but that business is like to end in love. Yesterday the House was called, and upon the call several members did appear who had formerly withdrawn themselves . . . but now rest satisfied to act with us" (Jan. 1, 1656-7). *Lansdowne MSS.* 753, f. 400; 754, ff. 14, 79.]

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[1] Compare the *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 588; and again *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which "I" the writer of the *Diary* sat; in neither of which is there such a name as *Burton*. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk *Bacons;* most probably *Nathaniel Bacon*, Master of the 'Court of Requests,'—a dim old Law-Court fallen obsolete now.

[The editor of Burton's *Diary*, Mr. Rutt, has much more than "vague guessing" as a foundation for his theory as to the authorship, and there can be little doubt that it was written, as he supposes, by Thomas Burton, M.P. for Westmorland. Carlyle's argument as to the committees turns against himself, for in three other committees upon which the writer of the *Diary* sat, Burton's name

Under chimerical circumstances he gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical!—

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued 'Decimation' or *Ten per-centing* of the Royalists;[1] whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler,—excelling in stupor all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this Parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither.[2] To Posterity they sit there as the James-Nayler Parliament. Four-hundred Gentle-

occurs and Bacon's does not. There are other points which put Bacon entirely out of the question, and many things which prove that the author was a North country man. See the note on the Authorship of Burton's *Diary* in the *Athenæum* for October 20, 1900.]

[1] *Commons Journals*, 7th to 29th Jan. 1656-7.

[2] [But another and very serious matter was also engaging the attention of Parliament, although, as no resolutions were taken upon it, it has left no traces in the Journals, *i.e.*, the question of the settlement of the Protectorate as a hereditary office, which was by no means sprung upon the Assembly as a new proposal by Packe in the following February. Only ten days after Parliament met, in September, Giavarina, the Venetian ambassador, wrote that Cromwell's elevation to the position of King was being seriously discussed in political circles, and on October 28 an Irish member, whom we can identify from Ludlow and Burton as Colonel William Jephson, moved to take into consideration "the thirty-first article of the government" (Thurloe v., 525) or as Ludlow bluntly puts it "that Cromwell might be made King" (*Memoirs*, ed. Firth ii., 20). Ludlow adds a tale that the Protector reproved Jephson for it, who answered that he must follow his conscience, "whereupon Cromwell, clapping him on the shoulder, said, 'Get thee gone for a mad fellow'—and shortly afterwards gave him a troop of horse and sent him as agent to Sweden." The inference here is absurd. Jephson had been a well-known man for many years, was one of the most active members of the great Irish Committee of Lords and Commons during the Civil Wars, and colonel of a regiment of horse sent over to help Inchiquin in Munster in 1646. He was a man of position and ability, an old adherent of Cromwell, and just the sort of person likely to be chosen for employment.

All through November, the despatches of Bordeaux and Giavarina are full of references to the scheme of making the Protectorate hereditary. In December the matter dropped for awhile, but evidently with the intention of its speedy revival, for on Dec. 25 (old style) Bordeaux wrote that the Protector had sent his eldest son into the country that he might not be in London when the subject of the succession was proposed in Parliament. For a full discussion of these early proceedings concerning the Protectorate and Kingship see Mr. Firth's article in the *English Historical Review* for July, 1902.

The Parliament also gave a considerable amount of time to the questions of the treatment of the Roman Catholics and the reformation of manners.]

men of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon; a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him;—shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated;—in Heaven's name, what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Nayler? This is the history of Oliver's Second Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it "dull." They hold by Use and Wont, these honourable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature,—by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigour speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labour, appointed only for the oxen of the gods!—The honourable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread-and-water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.[1]

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[1] Sentence pronounced, *Commons Journals*, vii. 486, 7 (16th Dec. 1656); executed in part, Thursday 18th Dec. (*ib.* 470);—petitions, negotiations on it do not end till May 26th, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation is in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 22-29.

LETTER CCXVII

Concerning which, however, and by what power of jurisdiction the honourable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still some inquiry to make;—for the limits of jurisdiction between Parliament and Law-Courts, Parliament and Single Person, are never yet very clear; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a Single Person have been known to be very tyrannous before now! On Friday 26th December, Speaker Widdrington intimates that he is honoured with a Letter from his Highness; and reads the same in these words:

To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, knight, Speaker of the Parliament: 'To be communicated to the Parliament'

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Nayler: although We detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of such crimes as are commonly imputed to the said person: yet We, being entrusted in the present government, on behalf of the people of these nations; and not knowing how far such proceedings (wholly without Us) may extend in the consequence of it, do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall, the 25th of December 1656.*

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*Burton, i. 370. [*Add. MSS.* 6125, p. 284]; see *Commons Journals*, vii. 475. [Thurloe writes of this to H. Cromwell: "The letter his Highness writ was not on the behalf of Nayler, and those who so represent it, do it not ingenuously. It's true it was upon that occasion, but it was so far from being in favour of him, that his Highness in his very letter professed he detested both his opinions and practices, but yet was unsatisfied with their proceedings, as having been wholly without him; and what the consequences of such proceedings might be to all the people of these nations, on whose behalf he was entrusted, he knew not; and therefore desired that he might be acquainted with the grounds of their proceedings." (Thurloe, vi. 8.)]

A pertinent inquiry; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses;—and in fact into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge: That of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction; and offering his Highness the Title of King.—[1]

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of 'the Page of History' this last business has given rise to! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important businesses in Oliver's Protectorate; though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere 'feather in a man's cap,' throwing no new light on Oliver; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our painful duty to deal with this matter also; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent, under which, as usual, they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight, Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us; and cannot yet be consumed by fire;—not yet, till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark pettifoggings of Oliver; and asked candid mankind, Whether there is anything particular in them? Mankind answering No, fire can be applied; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favour of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned;[1] the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless, distracted, condition;—growing ever more distracted, as each new Imaginary-Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in *Somers Tracts*,[2] which is our latest form of the business, they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with that Pamphlet in *Somers*. In or out of Bedlam, we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is *not* it. O Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkeyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general—!—But we will complain of nothing. Know well, by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bisons and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, *were* once a kind of regularly planted wood!—Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of *fire;* and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little new light, but also no new darkness, upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.[3]

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[1] [This question, as has been shown above, had been in the air for many weeks, and in fact appears to have been somewhat retarded by the Protector's action. The members were angry, and Bordeaux wrote that "Ceste mauvoise disposition a empesché qu'il ne s'en soit parlé davantage; et il semble que l'on ne songe plus qu'a tirer de l'argent du Parlement pour la congedier." But, early in February the matter was again to the fore, and it is at this date that Bordeaux told the story of Lambert saying that the question was not whether Richard or John (himself) should succeed, but whether they should retrace their steps or go forward. *Bordeaux to Mazarin*, Feb. 5-15.]

Monday, 23d February 1656-7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce 'Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation,'—leave, namely, to read this Paper 'which has come to his hand,' which is written in the form of a 'Remonstrance from the Parliament' to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to his Highness. Will not the Honourable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honourable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority 'that a candle be brought in.' Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a *Second* House of Parliament, the Protector something like a King; very great changes indeed![1] Debate this matter further tomorrow.

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[1] [Anthony à Wood says that Whitlocke was the author of *Monarchy Asserted*. The two centuries of "trampling" has not produced much difference between the old tract and Somers' reprint of it.]

[2] vi. 349-403.

[3] [For this later business of the Kingship, see Mr. Firth's article in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1903.]

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day,—let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really important.[2] On further manipulation, this 'Remonstrance' of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name 'Petition and Advice presented to his Highness,' became famous to the world in those spring months. We can see, the Honourable House has 'a very good resentment of it.' The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

Friday, 27th February. 'The Parliament keep a Fast within 'their own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, carrying on 'the work of the day; it being preparatory to the great work now 'on hand of Settling the Nation.'[3] In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a Hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as 'a scandal to the People of God,' hazardous to 'his Highness's person, and making way for the return of Charles 'Stuart,' are terribly apparent to them!—

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: "That he now specifically hears of this "project for the first time,—*he*" (with emphasis on the word, and a look at some individuals there) "has not been caballing about "it, for it or against it. That the Title 'King' need not startle

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[1] [Bordeaux, writing on the same day, says: "La forme en laquelle ceste proposition est conceue fait veoir que M. le Protecteur ne veut pas que le Parlement luy defère par un Acte la couronne, mais qu'il la prie de la prendre, afin que, ne la tenant point de Parlement, il n'ayt pas droit de [la] luy oster, ou aux siens." He goes on to say that the chief of those who oppose (save Lambert) are attached to him by interest or kinship, so that it is hard to believe their repugnance is not affected, although they have spoken with much warmth.]

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 496, 7.

[3] Newspapers (in Burton, i. 380).

"*them* so dreadfully; inasmuch as some of them well know" (what the Historical Public never knew before) "it was already offered "to him, and pressed upon him, by themselves when this Govern- "ment was undertaken. That the Title King, a feather in a hat, "is as little valuable to him as to them. But that the fact is, they "and he have not succeeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by "the schemes *they* clamoured for. Their Little Parliament, their "First Protectorate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, "have all proved failures;—nay this Parliament itself, which they "clamoured for, had almost proved a failure. That the Nation "is tired of Major-Generalcies, of uncertain arbitrary ways; and "really wishes to come to a Settlement. That actually the original "Instrument of Government does need mending in some points. "That a House of Lords, or other check upon the arbitrary ten- "dencies of a single House of Parliament, may be of real use: "see what they, by their own mere vote and will, I having no "power to check them, have done with James Nayler: may it not "be any one's case, some other day?" That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again.—So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden.[1] 'Three Major-Generals,' we find next week, 'have already come 'round. The House hath gone on with much unity.'[2]

The House in fact is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice. Amid the rumour of England, all through this month of March 1657. 'Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor;' so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate and guess!—Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen well-debated Articles;[3] fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title as we guessed, is to be *King*. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

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[1] [On March 5, however, another deputation of nine or ten officers waited upon his Highness, "chosen by the rest to represent their thoughts and desires in some better composure than could be done by so many together, which [address] was presented both modestly and freely, and as acceptably received, wherein my Lord was pleased to use such tender and plain discovery of his constant regard to his army and the ancient cause of the honest people under his government, and gave such Christian assurance thereof, that amounted to a large satisfaction both to them and to the Council." *Clarke Papers*, iii. 95.]

[2] *Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers* (in *Additional Ayscough MSS.* No. 6125, p. 285; printed in Burton, i. 382-4), a Fragment of a Letter, bearing date 7th March 1656-7;—to the effect abridged as above. [This abridgment of an abridgment hardly conveys a correct idea of the tone of that from which it is taken, and which will be found in the Supplement, No 127.]

[3] Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 *et seqq.*

SPEECH VII[1]

On Tuesday 31st March 1657, 'the House rose at eleven o'clock, 'and Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole House, re-'paired to his Highness at Whitehall,'[2] to present this same Petition and Advice, 'engrossed on vellum,' and with the Title of "King" recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech[3] is omissible. As the interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver *loquitur*:[4]

MR. SPEAKER,

This Frame of Government that it hath pleased the Parliament by your hand to offer to me,—truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it should not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance as, by your opening of it,[5] and by the 'mere' reading of it, it is manifest to all men to be; the welfare, the peace, the settlement of Three Nations, and all that rich treasure[1] of the best people in the world[2] being involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in this world.

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[1] [Before this come five letters written in this February and March. *See* Supplement, Nos. 124-6, 128, 129.]

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 516.

[3] Burton, i. 397-413. [And *Add. MSS.* 6125. It is summarised by Gilbert Mabbott as follows: "The Speaker acquainted him that the Great Council of the three nations assembled in Parliament had by advice from heaven been endeavouring to settle a right basis of government in these dominions, to reduce the law to its right current, and to ascertain propriety by settling a kingly government, which (by reason of the many distractions and interests amongst us) will and ever hath been most pleasing therein. The word Protector was never known unless in a Prince's minority; the word King the scriptures and laws of the nation do own. At last he presented the petition and humbly desired his Highness' acceptance thereof and assent thereunto. Which being read by Mr. Scobell, his Highness answered:" [here follows a short summary of the Protector's Speech]. *Clarke Papers*, iii. 99.]

[4] [The report of this speech in Burton, used by Carlyle, was taken from *Add. MSS.* 6125, "corrected in a few places," Mr. Rutt, the editor of Burton, says, from the *Lansdowne MS.* version. The variants are here noted, but the two texts are very much alike. There are also versions of this and the two following speeches in the *Clarke MSS.* at Worcester College, Oxford, which are useful, as they appear to have been taken from an independent report; and there is a summary of the speech in *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 355, and the *Public Intelligencer*, No. 77, these two being word for word the same. See references at end of Speech.]

[5] In this long florid speech.

I rather truly study[3] to say no more at this time than is necessary for giving a brief and short answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight; the greatest weight of anything that ever was laid upon a man.[4] And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth,—in each of which much more than my life is concerned,—truly I think I have no more to desire of you at this time, but that you will give me time to deliberate and consider *what* particular answer I may return to so great a business as this is.—

I have lived the latter part of my age,[5] in— if I may say so,—the fire; in the midst of trouble.[6] But all the things[7] that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, truly if they could be supposed to be 'all' brought into 'such' a narrow compass that I could take a view[8] of them at once, I do not think they would 'so move,' nor do I think they ought 'so' to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath been now offered by you to me!—And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the burdens[9] that have lain heavy upon me, they have been laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, and I 'have' been many times at a loss, which way to *stand* under the weight of what hath laid upon me:—[10] but by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God[11] in it. Which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure towards me.

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[1] [" right treasure," *Clarke MS.*]
[2] Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world.
[3] [" and rather to study," *Clarke MS.*]
[4] [" before a man," *all three texts.*]
[5] [" my life," *Add. MS.* 6125.]
[6] [" troubles," *Clarke MS.*]
[7] [" And all things," *all three texts.*]
[8] [" if it could be supposed they should be brought into a narrow compass, if I should take a view," *Clarke MS.*]
[9] [" business," *ibid.*]
[10] [" which made me stand under the weight he laid on me," *ibid.*]
[11] [" candour and pleasure God," *ibid.*]

And should I give any resolution in this 'matter'[1] suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto,—it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made [*Of me to be King*] in such a business as this is, because it would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self.[2] And if,—whatsoever the issue of this business be,—'my decision in' it should have *such* motives in me, and *such* a rise in me, it may prove[3] even a curse to you and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business; and have had those honest and sincere aims[4] to'wards' the glory of God, the good of His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things may be intended well,—as they are always, or for the most part, by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim (and such honest ends and purposes, I do believe, yours now are);[5]—yet if these considerations[6] fall upon a person or persons that God takes no pleasure in; that perhaps may be at the end of his work;[7] [*Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness!—A kind of pathos, and much dignity and delicacy in these tones*]—that, to please any of those humours or considerations that are of this world, shall run upon such a rock as this is,[1]—without due consideration, without integrity, without sincerity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from Him; and putting things as for life and death[2] *to* Him, that such an answer may be received 'from Him' as may be a blessing to the person [*Me*] 'who is' to be used to answer these noble and worthy and honest intentions of those [*You*] that have prepared and perfected[3] this work:—'why then,' it would be like a match where a good and worthy and virtuous man *mistakes* in the person that he makes love to; and (as it often proves), prove a curse[4] to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed at,—why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I[5] had never been born!—

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[1] ["any resolution in anything," *Clarke MS.*] [2] ["self-love," *ibid.*]

[3] ["this business shall be, if it should have such motives rising in me, it might prove," *ibid.*]

[4] *Subaudi*, but do not insert, 'which you profess.'

[5] ["And make their aims, and so honest ends and purposes as these are, I believe yours now are," *Add. MS.* 6125. "God forbid such aims should suffer any dishonest or indirectness on my part . . . such honest ends as these are that you have proposed," *Clarke MS.*; but as above in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[6] Means 'your choice in regard to such purpose;' speaks delicately, in an oblique way.

[7] [As here in *Lansdowne MS.*; "their" *Clarke MS.*; "this," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That seeing[6] you have made this progress in this Business, and completed the work on your part, I 'on my side' may have some short time[7] to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak or unwise people, nor yet the desires of any that may have lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give[8] other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful,—thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity;[9]—and such an answer as shall be for the good of those that I presume you and I serve, and are made[10] to serve.

And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as[1] I can.*

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[1] 'is,'—or may be: this of the Kingship. ["such a work as this is," *Clarke MS.*]

[2] ["without approve the heart of God and seeking an answer from Him, and putting for life and death to Him," *ibid.*]

[3] ["prepared and preferred," *ibid.*]

[4] ["mistaken in the person . . . as it after prove a very great curse," *ibid.*]

[5] ["he," *ibid.*]

[6] ["being," *ibid.*]

[7] ["small time," *ibid.*]

[8] ["nor yet the desire of any [that] may have lust in them after things that are not good, shall alter me from giving," *ibid.*]

[9] [Last two words omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[10] ["ready," *Add. MS.* 6125, and *Clarke MS.*]

SPEECH VIII

Friday, 3d April 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is nominated, extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke, and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is,—a negative, but none of the most decided.[2]

MY LORDS,

I am heartily sorry[3] that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; 'the desire' which I acquainted them with,[4] by Letter, this day. The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these two last days,[5] Yesterday and Wednesday. [*It is yet but three days, your Highness.*]

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[1] ["yet I shall think myself bound to give you a speedy answer to those things which I can," *Clarke MS.*]

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 519, 20; Burton i. 417. [Besides *Add. MS.* 6125, from which (as printed in Burton), Carlyle took this speech, there are copies in the *Clarke* and *Carte MSS.* This last varies more from the other two than they do from each other. It begins, "This paper in my hand is a copy of the Petition and Advice which it pleased Parliament to present unto me in the Banqueting House on Tuesday last," and omits the corresponding phrase where it is placed by the other two MSS. The speech is mentioned in *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 356, but no abstract given.]

[3] ["very heartily sorry," *Clarke* and *Carte MSS.*]

[4] ["known to the Parliament before this time, which was that I acquainted them with," *Add. MS.* 6125. "Known before this time, which]was [it [? that] I acquainted them with," *Carte MS.*]

[5] ["before these last two days," *ibid.*]

* Burton's *Diary*, i. 413-16. [*Add. MS.* 6125, p. 310; *Lansdowne MS.* 754, f. 153; *Clarke MS.* 29, f. 29 b. *Mercurius Politicus* and *Public Intelligencer* (E. 502, Nos. 17, 18.).]

I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper which was presented to me by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That they have been zealous [1] of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The *one* is that of Religion, and of the 'just' preservation of the professors of [2] it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth [3] of God;—which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do refer it to be done more fully by yourselves and me.[4] And as to the Liberty [5] of men professing Godliness [under a variety of forms amongst us], [6] you have done that which never was done before! And I pray [God][6] it may not fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, or any sort of them if they do not put such a value upon this that is 'now' done[7] as never was put on anything since Christ's time,[8] for such a Catholic interest of the People of God! [*Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very "Catholic interest" indeed.*] The *other* thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest [9] of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to a more peculiar Interest of God,—yet it is 'the' *next best* God hath given men in this world; and if well 'cared-for,' it is better than any rock to fence men in their own interests. Then if any one whatsoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, 'or two different things,' I wish my soul may never enter into *their* secrets![1] [*We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!*]

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[1] "I must needs bear this testimony to you that you have been zealous," *Clarke MS.;* "bear testimony for you," *Carte MS.*]

[2] ["of the preservators, of the professors of it," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[3] ["truths," *Carte MS.*]

[4] ["yourselves and me hereafter," *Clarke MS.*]

[5] ["liberties," *ibid.;* "liberties of professors though under various forms," *Carte MS.*]

[6] [The words in square brackets were omitted by Carlyle.]

[7] [*Carte MS.* only.]

[8] ["Value upon it as being such a thing as was never since Christ's time," *ibid.*]

[9] [In the plural in *Clarke MS.* The text in *Carte MS.* here runs: "The other thing [is] the civil liberties of the nations, which (though it be and indeed ought to be subordinate to that of the people of God), yet it is the next best God hath given men in the world, and better than any words, (if well) to fence the people of God in their interest. And if any think that the interest of God's people and the civil interest are inconsistent I wish my soul may not enter into his or their secret."]

These are things I must acknowledge[2] Christian and honourable; and 'they' are provided for by you like Christians, even men of honour,—and 'like yourselves,' English men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. And I must say, If I were to give an account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one; and if I were asked, Why I have engaged all along in the late War,[3] I could give no answer[4] but it would be a wicked one if it did not comprehend these Two ends!—'Meanwhile,' only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it so), that you have one or two considerations that do stick with me. The one is, You have named me by another Title than that I now bear. [*What* SHALL *I answer to that!*]

You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and you have left me[5] without a liberty of choice save as to all. [*Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the whole of it.*] I question not your wisdom in doing of it; but think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination, knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done. [*Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!*]

I should be very brutish should I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good, it hath all good in it,—according to worldly apprehension[1] of sovereign power. You have testified your value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a grateful memory of this in my heart;—and by you I return[2] the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own[3] ingratitude.—But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you to offer,[4] which may not be fit for me to undertake. [*Profound silence.*] 'And' as I should reckon it a very great presumption, should I ask of you the reason of your doing any one thing in this Paper,—(except 'in' some very few things, the 'new' Instrument, 'this Paper,' bears testimony to itself),[5]—so you will not take it unkindly if I ask of you this addition of the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, That it be taken[6] in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business,[7] *without* urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious, and most for my advantage in answering, To wit,[8] That I am not able for such a trust and charge. [*Won't have it, then!*]

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[1] ["his or their secrets," *Clarke MS.*]
[2] [Last three words not in *Carte MS.*]
[3] [Plural in *Clarke* and *Carte MSS.*]
[4] ["account," *Carte MS.* The words "and if I were asked" and "all along" are omitted in the *ibid.*]
[5] ["you have made me," *Add. MS.* 6125; "you leave me," *Carte MS.*]

And if the answer of the tongue, as well as the preparation of the heart, be from God, I must say my heart and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business—[*Sentence breaks down*]—'For' though I could not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it, as in common with others. — —I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, 'and' I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that Title. [*Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily!*]

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[1] [Carlyle printed "approbation" (which he noted as meaning value) following a misreading in Burton; the *Clarke* and *Carte MSS.* have "comprehension."]

[2] ["give," *ibid.*]

[3] ["know," *Carte MS.*]

[4] ["do," in *MSS.*]

[5] ["of itself," *Clarke MS.*]

[6] ["towards me," *ibid.*; "if it be taken," *Carte MS.*]

[7] [Last three words omitted in *ibid.*]

[8] [*Clarke MS.* omits "in answering;" *Carte MS.* has "advantage" and "purpose" written one over the other with a query as to which is correct.]

The most I said in commendation of the 'new' Instrument may be retorted[1] on me;—'as' thus: "Are there such good "things so well provided for 'in this Instrument;' will you "refuse to[2] accept them because of such an ingredient?" Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved, 'for the whole Paper or none of it,' it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you[3] to alter their resolution.

This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you.*

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think!—No; he is groping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King! Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No!—

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[1] ["returned," *Carte* and *Clarke MSS.*]

[2] ["why cannot you" in *MSS.* which probably means as above. The *Carte MS.* has "without such an ingredient," but that does not seem to make sense.]

[3] ["inducements by you," *Clarke* and *Carte MSS.*]

* *Additional Ayscough MSS.* no. 6125, p. 314; printed in Burton, i. 417; and *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 161. [Also *Clarke MS.* 29, f. 33 b, and *Carte Papers*, lxxx. f. 755. This speech, says a newsletter, "made many joyful and others sad." "There are various comments put upon it," says another letter, "some declaring it positive, others infer room for a farther address." (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 101, 102.).]

SPEECH IX

Wednesday, 8th April 1657. The Parliament, justly interpreting this *No* of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will 'present reasons to his Highness;' has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready;—and, this day, 'at three in the afternoon,' walks over in a body to the Banqueting-House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum, and a Written Paper of 'Reasons,' to present the same.[1] What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion is happily lost; but his 'Reasons,' which are very brief, remain on the Record;[2] and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April 1657.

'*Resolved,* That the Parliament having lately presented their 'Humble Petition and Advice to your Highness, whereunto they 'have not as yet received satisfaction; and the matters contained 'in that Petition and Advice being agreed-upon by the Great 'Council and Representative of the Three Nations; which matters, in their judgment, are most conducing to the good of the 'People thereof both in Spiritual and Civil concernments: They 'have therefore thought fit

'To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in mind 'of the great obligation which rests upon you in respect of this 'Advice; and again to desire you to give your Assent thereunto.'

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read and then delivered to his Highness, with some brief touches of mellifluous eloquence now happily lost,—his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him:[3]

Mr. Speaker,

No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice;—readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of the Parliament of these Three Nations, And if a man could suppose it were *not* a Parliament to some; [*Malignants there are who have such notions*]—yet doubtless it should be so to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that *we* have laboured to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the 'weight of' authority 'you have in' advising these things.

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[1] *Commons Journals*, ii. 520-1 (6th, 8th April); Burton, i. 421.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] [For this speech, Carlyle used the report (printed from an old pamphlet) in the old *Parliamentary History*. There are other versions in *Add. MS.* 6125, and the *Clarke* and *Sloane MSS.*, and a good abstract in the third person, in *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 356 (and the *Public Intelligencer*, No. 78). These last introduce the speech by saying, "the Speaker having communicated the sense of the House, his Highness was pleased to make a return by a speech with his wonted piety, wisdom and moderation, whereof these following are heads."]

I can also aggravate to myself the general notions of the Things Advised-to; as being things tending to the settlement of the chiefest Interests[1] that can possibly fall into the hearts of men to desire[2] or endeavour-after. And at such 'a' time, 'too;' when truly, I may think, the Nation is big with expectation of something[3] that may add to their better Being.—I therefore must needs put a very high esteem 'upon,' and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you.

And so I have had of this Instrument:—and, I hope, so[4] I have expressed. And what I have expressed[5] hath been, if I flatter not myself, from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to compliment you. For we are past all those things, all considerations of that kind! [*Serious enough his Highness is, and all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed the* MAKER *of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!*] We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so—

'Now,' howbeit your title and name you give to this Paper [*Looking on the Vellum*] makes me to think you intended Advice; and I should transgress against all reason, should I make any other construction than 'that' you did intend Advice: 'yet'—!—[*Still hesitates, then?*]—I would not lay a burden upon my[1] beast but I would consider his strength to bear it! And if you will lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmities and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsel that may seem to come from Heaven, counsel in the Word of God (who leaves a room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength),—I hope it will be no evil in me[2] to measure your Advice and my own Infirmities together. And truly these will have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him that receives talents[3] to know how he may answer the trust of them. And such a conscience have I had 'in this matter;' and still have; and therefore when I thought I had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer [*The unemphatic Negative; truest "Answer" your Highness then had: can it not grow an Affirmative?*]—and am a person, and have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, To know *what* might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion[4] and trial as this was to me! [*Deep silence: Old Parliament casts down its eyes.*]—

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[1] 'things' again, in *orig.*

[2] [Carlyle printed "devise," but all the texts have "desire."]

[3] ["anything," *Clarke MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[4] ["as," *Clarke MS.*; "so I have already expressed myself," *Mercurius Politicus.*]

[5] ["And what hath been expressed," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore a matter of I think but philosophical discourse, That a great place, great authority,[5] it is a great burden. I know it is so. And I know a man that is convinced in his conscience, that Nothing less will enable *him* to the discharge of it than Assistance[6] from Above. 'And' that it may very well require in such a subject, so convinced and so persuaded, to be right with the Lord in such an undertaking![7]—And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly to you: I had, and I have, my hesitations[8] 'as' to that individual thing. [*Still Negative, your Highness?*] If I undertake[9] anything *not* in Faith,

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[1] ["any," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[2] ["in me" is only in *MS.* 6125.]

[3] Meaning 'charges,' 'offices.' [No doubt an allusion to the parable of the Talents. *Clarke MS.* has "received."]

[4] ["occasions," *ibid.*]

[5] ["great places, great place, that great authority," *Sloane MS.*]

[6] ["than to have assistance," *Clarke MS.*]

[7] ["such undertakings," *ibid.*]

[8] ["have hesitation," *ibid.*]

[9] ["if undertaken," *ibid.*]

I shall serve you in my own Unbelief;—and I shall then be the most unprofitablest Servant that ever People or Nation had!

Give me leave, therefore, to *ask counsel*. I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions;[1] which haply may be over-swayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have deserved no blame; nor do I take it that you will lay any upon me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. 'And' truly the same answer that I have as to the point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty another way.[2]—I would not urge to you the point of Liberty. Surely you have provided for Liberty,[3]—I have borne my witness to it,—Civil and Spiritual! The greatest provision that ever was made have you made, 'for Liberty to all,' and I know that you do not intend to exclude *me*. The Liberty I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and mine own fears, and mine own scruples. 'And' though haply, in such cases as these are, the world hath judged[4] that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples; 'yet' surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore—!—

They that are knowing in the ground of their own Actions will be best able to measure advice to others. [*Will have us reason, in Free Conference, with him?*] There are many things in this 'Instrument of' Government besides that one of the Name and Title, that deserve very much to be elucidated[5] as to my judgment. It is you and none but you that can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them! Otherwise, I say truly, I must say that I am not persuaded to the performance of 'this as' my trust and duty, nor 'sufficiently' informed. 'Not persuaded or informed;' and so not actuated[6] 'by a call of *duty*,' as I know you intend I should be, and 'as' every man in the Nation should be.[7] You have provided for 'every one of' them as a

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[1] ["apprehension," *Clarke MS.*]

[2] Bound to regard your "Advice;" and yet in doing so, not to disregard a Higher. ["Another way" omitted in *ibid.*]

[3] [Last six words omitted, *ibid.*]

[4] ["the Word hath provided," *ibid.*]

[5] 'deserve very much information,' in *orig.*

[6] ["acted" in the *MS.*] [7] ["be" is found only in the newspapers.]

Free Man, as a man that is to act possibly,[1] rationally and conscientiously!—And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this:

I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate me to give it you; and 'capacitate' yourselves to receive it;—and to do 'what' other things[2] may inform me a little more particularly than this Vote that you have expressed Yesterday, and 'which' hath now been read by you to me.

And truly I hope when 'once' I understand the ground of these things,—the whole being 'meant' neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation,[3]—there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out those things that may answer our duty. Mine, and all our duties, to those[4] whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now unto you.*

Thus has the Honourable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has scruples; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, 'to receive satisfaction,'—has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated:

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[1] Means 'in a way possible for him;' '*does* possibly' is the phrase in *orig.*

[2] ["And to do in the other things that that may," *MS.* 6125; "and to do that in the other things that may," *Mercurius Politicus*; "and as in the other things that may," *Clarke MS.*]

[3] ["the nations," *Clarke MS.*]

[4] ["those nations," *ibid.*]

* Old Pamphlet (in *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. Appendix, pp. 164-6). [Also *Add. MS.* 6125, p. 319; *Clarke MS.* 29, f. 39; *Sloane MS.* 4157, f. 180; *Mercurius Politicus* and *Public Intelligencer* (E. 502, Nos. 19, 20.)

Morland wrote to Pell on April 9, "Not many days ago, his Highness denied the Crown; after, the Parliament made a vote of adherence to their former resolution, and thereupon sent a Committee yesterday to his Highness, to whom, in the Banqueting House, his Highness made a speech so dark that none knows whether he will accept it or no; but some think he will accept it." (*Lansdowne MS.*, 754, f. 166.)

A newsletter in the *Clarke Papers* (iii. 104) says: "Wednesday [April 8], the Parliament attended his Highness at Whitehall, who told [them] that he had waited upon the Lord for His direction in the last answer he gave them, to which he saw no cause as yet to recede from, his conscience and judgment being satisfied therein, and he ready to give a reason for both, but if he may be informed more particular of their reasons than their vote held forth, there will be no doubt but he may answer that [which] lies incumbent upon him for the good of the three nations."]

Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all;[1] and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however, there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two: a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy, namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never;—explodes accordingly, though in a small way; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

Thursday, 9th April. The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it.[2] The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ,—which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us,—perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A Standard set up;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?" O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things!—But in two days time, these ancient individuals and they are lodged in the Tower; Harrison, hardly connected with the thing, except as a wellwisher, he and others are likewise made secure: and the

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[1] List in *Commons Journals*, vii. 521; in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351.

[2] [Venner and Okey had been summoned before the Council as long ago as July of the previous year. See *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1656-7, p. 581 (where Verney is a misreading of the cypher for Venner).]

Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.[1] Nobody was tried for it: Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attempt under Charles Second, some two years hence. The Committee of Ninety-nine can now proceed with its 'satisfaction to his Highness;' his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions; had various Conferences with his Highness,—which unfortunately are not lost; which survive for us, in *Somers Tracts* and the old Pamphlets, under the Title of *Monarchy Asserted;* in a condition, especially his Highness's part of them, enough to drive any Editor to despair! The old Pamphleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favour of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Note-paper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world![2] Let us not speak of it; let us endeavour to get through it,—through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes,—they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea;—but to this of *Somers Tracts* there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most *epic* of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it!—

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[1] Narrative in Thurloe, vi. 184-8. [A letter amongst the Duke of Sutherland's MSS. dated April 11, says of this "Here is discovered a new plot amongst the faction of Sindercome, as it is reported. It is discovered but two days ago. They have apprehended at least thirty persons and some of them in arms ready to perfect the plot. . . . The Protector has been himself there two nights till two or three o'clock in the morning in examination of them; and some he has sent to the Tower and some to Lambeth house, and some he keeps in Whitehall; but they say they are all very obstinate and resolute fellows, and will not put off their hats to the Protector, and *thou* him at every word that they speak to him." *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 163.]

[2] [Carlyle might have avoided these last evils by going to the Pamphlet itself, but it is not a good text, so far as we can judge when we have no other.]

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words,—dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

SPEECH X

Properly an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here—simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understand to be the fact, but unhappily not till then,—the aid of *fire* can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday, 11th April 1657, 'about nine in the morning;' has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats;—and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much *they* would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labour and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honourable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat: the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence, obliged to break up and become a kind of Utterance in this thickskinned manner:—really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is!—

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage or two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note,—in the abridged lucidified state:[1]

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[1] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 352.

Lord Whitlocke. "Understands that the Committee is here "only to receive what his Highness has to *offer;* such the letter "and purport of our Instructions; which I now read. [*Reads it.*] "Your Highness mentions 'the Government that now is;' seems "to hint thereby: The Government being well now, why change "it? If that be your Highness's general objection, the Committee "will give you satisfaction."

The Lord Protector. Sir, I think that neither you nor I but meet 'here' with a very good heart to come to some issue of this great business; and truly that is, that [I can[1] assure you][2] I have all the reason [and argument][2] in the world to move me to it. And 'I' am exceeding ready to be ordered by you in the manner[3] of proceeding. Only I confess, according to those thoughts I have, in preparing my thoughts for so great a work, I formed this notion to myself: That the Parliament having already done me the honour of Two Conferences;[4] and now sent you again, their kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive in the thing; 'might have' declared their Address itself to be enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I perceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my doubts that they aim at;[5] and [truly I think] there is one clause in the Paper 'itself, quoted by my Lord Whitlocke,' that doth a little warrant that: "To offer such reasons for his satisfaction and for the maintenance of the Resolutions of the House."[6]—Now, Sir, it's certain[7] the occasion of all this 'Conference' is the Answer that I 'already' made; that's the occasion of your having to come hither again.[1] And truly, Sir, I doubt 'whether by your plan'— —If you will *draw out those reasons from me,* I will offer them to you: but I doubt on my part, if you should proceed that 'other' way, it would put me a little out of the method of my own thoughts. And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour, it will the more agree with my method.[2]—[*"To "go by my method," his Highness means; to "offer me* YOUR *Reasons "and* DRAW *me out, rather than oblige me to* COME *out".*] I shall take it as a favour if it please you, 'and' I will leave you to consider together your own thoughts of it. [*Motioning to go.*]

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[1] ["cannot" in *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] [The words in square brackets were omitted by Carlyle.]

[3] ["way," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[4] Two Conferences with the whole Parliament; and one Conference with a Committee; Speeches VII. (31st March), IX. (8th April), and VIII. (3d April).

[5] ["As I have answered my own thoughts in preparing for such a work as this is, I have made this motion of it to myself, that having met you twice, at the Committee first, and returned you that answer that I gave you then, and the House a second time, I do perceive that the favour and the indulgence that the House shows me in this is that I might receive satisfaction. I know they might have been positive in the thing, and said they might have done enough if they had only made such an address to me. They might have insisted upon it only to offer it; yet I could plainly see it was my satisfaction they aimed at; I think really and sincerely it is my satisfaction that they intend." *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[6] [Last ten words omitted by Carlyle.]

[7] ["true," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "This Committee, being sent to wait upon "your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give the *Parliament's* reasons for what the Parliament hath done. But any "gentleman here may give for your Highness's satisfaction his "own particular apprehension of them. And if you will be pleased "to go in the way you have propounded, and on any point *require* "a satisfaction from the Committee, I suppose we shall be ready "to do the best we can to give you satisfaction." [*Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.*]

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I think if this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath dictated to you?—and I think that 'it' is clearly expressed that the Parliament intends satisfaction. Then is it *as* clear that there must be reasons and arguments that have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction! I speak for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.[3] I say it doth appear so to me; that you have the liberty of 'giving' your own reasons. I think if I should write 'down' any of *them,* I cannot call this the reason of the Parliament. [*Whitlocke, in a heavy manner, smiles*

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[1] ["that occasions a Committee to come hither in order to my satisfaction," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] [Last eight words omitted by Carlyle.]

[3] As if I meant to dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties. ["Think it not otherwise," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

respectful assent.] 'But' in 'Parliamentary and other such' [determinations and] conclusions the efficient "reason" is diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet[1] when they have determined 'such and' such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that reason—!—I do very respectfully represent to you that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing [*Glancing at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship*]; and I do desire that I may be informed in the grounds that lead you, whom I presume to be all satisfied with it[2] and 'with' every part of it. And if you will be pleased, to think so fit,—I will not farther urge it upon you,—to proceed in that way, it will be a favour to me. Otherwise, I shall deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions: and then 'in that case' I shall beg that we[3] may have an hour's deliberation, 'and' [that we might] meet again in the afternoon.

Lord Chief-Justice 'Glynn,'[4]—one of the old expelled Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: "The "Parliament has sent us to give all the satisfaction which it is in "our understandings to give. Certainly we will try to proceed "according to what method your Highness finds best for that "end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, however, is general, "consisting of many heads; and we can give but general satisfaction."

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[1] ["In determinations and conclusions, by votes of the several particulars of the government, that reason is dilated and diffused, and every man hath a share of it, and therefore," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["are all satisfied persons to the thing," *ibid.*]

[3] ["I," *ibid.*]

[4] [The pamphlet says simply "Lord Chief-Justice," but this term usually denotes the Chief-Justice of the King's or Upper Bench, and at this meeting, Glynne seems to have been a sort of spokesman throughout. Also, in the list of the "ninety-nine" both in *Commons Journals* and *Monarchy Asserted*, the name of the Chief Justice of Common Pleas (St. John) does not appear. On the title page of *Monarchy Asserted*, St. John is given as one of the speakers, and the old *Parliamentary History* gives this speech and the one on the following page to him. But it seems impossible to accept St. John's presence in the face of the list in *Commons Journals.* See also his own statement in *The Case of Oliver St. John* (B.M. 1104, b. 48, p. 3).]

THE LORD PROTECTOR. If you will please to give me leave [*Clearing his throat to get under way.*] I do agree, truly, the thing is a general; for it either falls[1] under the motion of Settlement, that is a general consisting of many particulars; or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, "Petition and Advice,"—that again is a general; it is advice, desires and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say truth, but one thing.[2] Only the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament,[3] I did offer to them that they would put me in to a condition to receive satisfaction 'as' to the particulars, 'any or all particulars.' 'Now,' no question I might easily offer something particular for debate, if I thought that that would answer the end. [*What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come to close action! As in other affairs of courtship.*] For truly I know my end and yours is the same: that is, to bring things to an issue one way or other, that we may know where we are,—that we may attain that general end, that is Settlement. [*Safe ground here, your Highness!*] The end is in us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the world that it is no more in his heart than in mine!— —I could go 'in'to some particulars [*Especially one particular, the Kingship*], to ask a question, or 'to' ask a reason of the alteration 'made;' which would well enough let you into the business,—that it might.[4] Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [*I had counted on being drawn out, not on* COMING *out: I understood I was the young lady, and* YOU *the wooer!*] I confess I did not so strictly examine 'the terms of' that Order of Reference 'from the Parliament, which my Lord Whitlocke cites;' or whether I 'even' read it or no I cannot tell you.—[*Pause.*]—If you will have it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer to it, 'and so let us into the business;'—though perhaps I shall object weak'ly' enough, I shall very freely submit to you.

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[1] ["as it is either falling," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["And truly if you call it by that that it is tituled, there it is general, it is advice, desires and advice; and that (the truth is) that I have made my objection in, is but to one thing as yet," *ibid.*]

[3] Wednesday last, 8th April; Speech IX.

[4] A favourite reduplication with his Highness; that it is! [Perhaps it should be "that I might."]

Lord Chief-Justice 'Glynn' (with official solemnity). "The "Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness "satisfaction."

Lord Commissioner Fiennes,—Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of 'Old Subtlety' Say and Sele; and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper,—opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard sagacity,[1] to say: "Looking upon the Order, I find that *we* may offer your Highness "*our* reasons, if your Highness's dissatisfaction be to the alteration of the Government whether in general or in particular."—So that his Highness may have it his own way, after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

The Lord Protector. I am 'very' ready to say, I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, to bring these Nations into a good Settlement. And perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favourable to[2] the great end of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the preservation of all those honest Interests that have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objection to the general[3] 'fact,' That the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or Government. But you having done it 'in such way' as you have, and made me so far 'an' interested 'party' in 'it' as to make such an Overture to me [*As this of the Kingship, which modesty forbids me to mention*],—I shall be very glad 'to learn,' if you so please to let me know it, besides the *pleasure* of the Parliament, somewhat of the *reason* they had for interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.[4]

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[1] Good Portrait of him in Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*.

[2] ["the settlement we were in was not so much for," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] ["no exception in the general," *ibid.*]

[4] ["That besides the pleasure of the Parliament, may be somewhat of the reason of the Parliament, for interesting me in this thing and for making the alteration such as it is," *ibid.*]

Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have less to object.[1] I shall be very ready to specify objections, 'in order' to clear for you whatsoever it may be better to clear; 'in order' at least to help myself towards a clearer understanding of these things;—for better advantage 'to us all;'[2] for that, I know, is in your hearts as well as mine, though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer to you that may convince you; but, if you will take 'it' in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

'And now,' if you please,—As to the *first* thing [*Kingship*], I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put. 'And' I think that some of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would, 'if they were now stated to me,' lead us[3] into such objections or doubts as I may 'have to' offer; and will be a very great help to me in it. And if you will have me 'offer' this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, I shall do it.

Whereupon LORD WHITLOCKE, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;[4]—which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact the learned pleadings of these illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

"That perhaps the former Instrument of Government having "originated in the way it did, the Parliament considered it would "be no worse for sanctioning by the Supreme Authority; such "was their reason for taking it up. 'Their intentions I suppose "were' this and that, at some length. As for the new Title, that "of *Protector* was not known to the Law; that of *King* is, and has

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[1] 'shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this,' in *orig*. [Probably should be "follow" or perhaps "allow."]

[2] ["ready to assign particular objections to clear that to you that may be either the better to clear, or to help me at least to a clearer understanding of the things for better good," *Monarchy Asserted*.]

[3] ["I think that some of the grounds upon which it is done will very well lead into," *ibid.*]

[4] Somers, vi. 355.

"been for many hundreds of years. If we keep the title of Pro-"tector, as I hear some argue, our Instrument has only its own "footing to rest upon; but with that of *King*, 'it will ground "itself in all the ancient foundations of the Laws of England,'" &c. &c.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS,—old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair,—him also the reader shall conceive speaking for the space of half an hour:

"'May it please your Highness,' Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! "'Upon due consideration you shall find that the whole body of "the Law is carried upon this wheel' of the Chief Magistrate "being called King. Hum-m-m! [*Monotonous humming for ten "minutes.*] 'The title of Protector is not *limited* by any rule of "Law that I understand;' the title of King is. Hum-m-m! King "James wanted to change his Title, and that only from *King of "England* to *King of Great Britain;* and the Parliament could "not consent, so jealous were they of new titles bringing new "unknown powers. Much depends upon a title! The Long "Parliament once thought of changing its title to *Representative "of the People;* but durst not. Hum-m-m! '*Nolumus Leges "Angliæ mutari.*' Drum-m-m! '*Vox populi:* it is the voice of "the Three Nations that offers your Highness this Title.' "Drum-m-m!"— —Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us.[1] At the ending of it, a pause.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit 'for me' to ask of any of you if you have a mind to speak further of this. But if it had been so your [2] pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me in—according to the method and way I have conceived to myself,—to a way of more [3] preparedness, to have returned some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble—I am sure the business requires it, from any man in the world in any case,[4] and much more from me, to make serious and true answers! I mean such 'answers' as are not feigned in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart. [*Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness;—but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call and even* THINK *themselves "true" are but "feigned in one's own thoughts," after all; from that to "the truth and honesty of heart" is still a great way;—witness many men in most times; witness almost all men in such times as ours.*] I mean that by true answers.

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[1] Somers, vi. 356-7.

[2] ["their," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] ["to the more," *ibid.*]

[4] ["if he were in any case," *ibid.* Perhaps it should read "in my case."]

I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it is your pleasure to speak to this head, I should have then, taking some short note[1] of it as I did [*Glancing at his Note-paper*], have been in a condition, this afternoon, [*Would still fain be off!*]—if it had not been a trouble to you,—to have returned my answer, upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed this way,—truly I think I may very well say, that I shall need to have a little thought about the thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debates[2] should end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; which it is very like to do. [*A Drama* COMPOSING *itself as it gets* ACTED, *this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.*]

I say therefore, if you had found good[3] to proceed farther to speak to these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and 'have' made some short reply. And this would have ushered me in not only to have given the best answer I could, but to have made my own objection 'too.' [*An interrogative look; evidently some of us must speak! Glynn steps forward.*]

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN steps forward, speaks largely; then SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY steps forward; and NATHANIEL FIENNES steps forward; and LORD BROGHIL (Earl of Orrery that is to be) steps forward; and all speak largely: whom, not to treat with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall abridge down to *absolute* nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us.

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[1] ["notice," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["I had need have a little thought of the thing to return an answer to it, lest your debates," *ibid.*]

[3] ["if you think to proceed," *ibid.*]

In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil in the rear of all:[1]

Lord Broghil. "By an Act already existing (the 11th of Henry "VII.), all persons that obey a 'King *de facto*' are to be held guilt-"less; not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*. Think of this.— "And then 'in the 7th and last place,' I observe: The Imperial "Crown of this country and the Pretended King are indeed "divorced; nevertheless persons divorced may come together "again; but if the person divorced be married to another, there "is no chance left of that!"— —

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

The Lord Protector. I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things[2] that come from the Parliament to the Supreme Magistrate, [*He accepts, then?*] if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known by that name, and is the Representative[3] of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland is. I say, it ought to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will have with me.

In all things a man is free to answer[4] desires as coming from Parliament. I may say that; but inasmuch as the Parliament hath been pleased to condescend to me so far 'as' to do me this honour (a very great one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel from[5] so many members of theirs, so able, so understanding[6] 'of' the grounds of things—[*Sentence breaks down*] —it is, I say, a very singular honour and favour to me; and I confess I wish I may 'do,' and I hope I shall do, that [which] becomes an honest man to do in giving an answer to these things

[1] Somers, p. 363.
[2] Means 'anything,—the Kingship for one thing.'
[3] ["are really the representation," *Monarchy Asserted.*]
[4] [Carlyle altered to "grant."]
[5] ["to give me the advantage of," *Monarchy Asserted.*]
[6] [Carlyle wrote "intelligent."]

—according to such insight[1] either as I have, or 'as,' God shall give me, or 'as' I may be helped into by reasoning with you. And I did not indeed in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave 'you.' [*Well!*] But I must say, I must be a very unworthy person to receive such favour if I should prevaricate in saying[2] things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still say they do! Only, I must 'also' say, I am in the best way that I can be 'in' for information; 'and' I shall gladly receive it.

Here hath been divers things spoken by you today, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. And I think the things, or the arguments or reasonings that have been used have been upon these three heads:[3] '*First,*' To Speak to the thing simply, or in the abstract notion of the Title, and 'to' the positive reasons upon which it stands, and then '*secondly,* Speaking' comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order[4] to show the goodness of it comparatively, 'in comparison with our present title and foundation.' It is alleged to be so much better than what we now have; and that *it* will do the work which this other fails in.[5] And *thirdly,* Some things have been said by way of precaution; which are not arguments from the thing itself,[6] but are considerations 'drawn' from the temper of the People of the nation, what will gratify them, 'and so on;'—which is surely considerable. As also 'some things were said' by way of anticipation of me in my answer; by speaking to some objections that others have made against this thing. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable. [*The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head,—as is sometimes the way with him.*]

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[1] 'desire' in *orig.*: but there is no sense in that. ["The desire that either I have or God shall give me." Cromwell uses "desire" in the sense of "inclination." *Cf.* his speech on going for Ireland.]

[2] ["when I said," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] 'accounts' in *orig.*

[4] ["and then comparatively, both in the thing and in the foundation of it, which what it is," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[5] ["than what is, and that is so much short of doing the work that this will do," *ibid.*]

[6] ["upon arguments that are little from the thing in the nature of it," *ibid.*]

To answer to objections, I know it is a very weighty thing; and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men that know so well how[1] to answer them,—'to whom they are not strange,' because they have 'already' in part been suggested to them by[2] the Debates already had.

But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could taken these things [*Looking at his Notes*] that have been spoken,—which truly are to be acknowledged by me to be very learnedly spoken,—I hope therefore you will give me a little time to consider of them. 'As to' when it may be your best time for me to return to you, to meet you again, I shall leave that to your consideration.

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. On Monday at nine of the clock I will be ready to wait upon you.*

And so, with many bows, *exeunt.*—Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11th April 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them;—the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrode says: 'The Protector often 'advised about this' of the Kingship 'and other great businesses 'with the Lord Broghil, Pierpoint' (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with 'Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe; and would 'be shut up three or four hours together in private discourse, and 'none were admitted to come in to him. He would sometimes 'be very cheerful with them; and laying aside his greatness, he 'would be exceedingly familiar; and by way of diversion would 'make verses with them,' play at crambo with them, 'and every 'one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco,

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[1] ["I shall, if I make them to men that know so well how," *Monarchy Asserted.*]
[2] ["received them from others upon," *ibid.*]

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351-365.

'pipes and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco him-'self;' which was a very high attempt. 'Then he would fall 'again to his serious and great business' of the Kingship; 'and advise with them in those affairs. And this he did often 'with them; and their counsel was accepted, and' in part 'followed by him in most of his greatest affairs,'—as well as it deserved to be.[1]

SPEECH XI[2]

On Monday, April 13th, at Whitehall, at nine in the morning,[3] according to agreement on Saturday last, the Committee of Ninety-nine attend his Highness, and his Highness there speaks:—addressing Whitlocke as reporter of the said Committee:

My Lord,

I think I have a very hard task upon my hand.[4] Though it be but to give an account of *myself*, yet I see I am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give an account of myself, but it is in a business very comprehensive of others;—'comprehending' us all in some sense,[5] and, as the Parliament have been pleased to make it 'comprehensive' of all the interests of these Three Nations!

I confess I consider two things. *First*, To return some answer[6] to the things that were so ably and well said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that Title in the

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[1] Whitlocke, p. 647.

[2] [Besides the text in *Monarchy Asserted*, there is a version of this speech in *Ashmole MS.* 749.

There is also a curtailed report of it in *Harley MS.* 6846, f. 236, which pleased Ranke so much that he printed it in his *History of England*, v. 517, as a proof that although the speech appears confused and hesitating to us, Cromwell's meaning was clearly grasped by those who heard him. The report certainly gives one the impression that it is not an abstract of a longer text, but a summary by some one who had heard the speech himself.]

[3] at 'eight,' say the *Journals*, vii. 522.

[4] ["head," *Monarchy Asserted*; but as in text, *Ashmole MS.*]

[5] ["in some sense to us," *both texts.*]

[6] ["some very answer," *Monarchy Asserted.* Somers leaves out the qualifying word; the editor of Burton turns it into "wary." Probably the *Ashmole MS.* has the true reading "very weak answer."]

Instrument of Settlement. [*This is the First thing; what the Second is, does not yet for a long while appear.*] I hope it will not be expected that I should answer to everything that was then said: because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient Constitutions and Settlements by the Laws; of which I am sure I could never be well skilled,[1]—and therefore must the more ask pardon in what I have 'already' transgressed in my practice 'in speaking of such matters,' or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of them, in my 'present' answer to you.

Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon[2] the Law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusiveness,[3] to enforce that one thing of Kingship. And if your arguments come upon me to enforce upon me[4] the ground of Necessity,—why, then, I have no room to answer: for what must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider whether there *were* such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity, from those arguments.—It was said "that "Kingship is not a Title, but an Office, so interwoven with the "fundamental Laws of this Nation, that they cannot, or cannot "well,[5] be executed and exercised without 'it,'—partly, if I may "say so, upon a supposed ignorance which the Law hath[6] of any "other Title. It knows no other; neither doth any other know "it, the reciprocation[7] is such. This Title, or Name, or Office, "as you 'were farther' pleased to say, is understood in the "dimensions of it, in the powers and prerogatives of it; which "are by the Law made certain; and the Law can tell when it "[*Kingship*] keeps within compass, and when it exceeds its "limits. And the Law knowing this, the People can know it "also. And the People do love what they know. And it will

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[1] ["could never well skill," *Ashmole MS.*]

[2] ["chiefly founded upon," *ibid.*]

[3] ["conclusion," *both texts.*]

[4] [this word omitted in *Ashmole MS.* "to enforce it, upon the ground, etc.," is perhaps the true reading.]

[5] ["they could not or well could not be exercised," *ibid.*]

[6] [" of the law that it hath," *ibid.*]

[7] [Carlyle altered to "neither doth any know another. And by reciprocation this said title."]

"be neither *pro salute populi,* nor for our safety, to obtrude upon "them names that they do not nor cannot understand."

It is said also, "That the People have been always, by their "representatives in Parliament, unwilling to vary Names, for as "much, as hath been said before, as" they love settlement 'and 'known names.' And there were two good instances given of that: the one, in King James his time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the Title:[1] and another in the Long Parliament, wherein they being otherwise rationally moved to admit of the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," they refused it for the same reason. [*Lenthall tries to blush.*]—It hath been said also, "That the holding to this word doth strengthen the "'new' Settlement; because it doth not anything *de novo,* but "'merely' resolves things into their old current." It is said, "'That' it is the security of the Chief Magistrate, and that it "secures all that act under him."—Truly these are the principal of those grounds that were offered the last day, so far as I do recollect.

I cannot take upon me to repel those grounds; for they are so strong and rational. But if I shall be able to make *any* answer to them, I must not grant that they are necessarily conclusive;[2] but 'I must' take them only as arguments that have perhaps 'in them' much of conveniency, and, 'much' probability towards conclusiveness.[2] For if a remedy or expedient may be found, then they are not *necessary,* they are not inevitable grounds: and if not necessary and concluding 'grounds,' why then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty 'to speak;' otherwise I am concluded before I speak.—And therefore it will behove me to say what I can.[1] Why they are not *necessary*[2] conclusions; why they are not—why *it*[3] is not (I *should* say) so interwoven in the Laws but that the Laws may still[4] be executed to equal justice, and equal satisfaction of the people, and equally to answer all objections as well, without it as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds.[5] And when I have said what I can say as to that 'latter point,'—I hope you will *think* a great deal more than I say. [*Not convenient to* SPEAK *everything in so ticklish a predicament; with Deputations of a Hundred Officers, and so many "scrupulous fellows, considerable in their own conceit," glaring into the business with eyes much sharper than they are deep!*]

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[1] [Lenthall in his speech on the 11th had alluded to the fact that in 1604, James I. was proclaimed as King of "Great Britain, France and Ireland," instead of by the old title of "King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland." But so much opposition was made to the new title that it was shortly abandoned. "It is easy to perceive a jealousy that the prerogative by some means or other would be the gainer," Hallam writes. "One said: we cannot legislate for Great Britain. Another, with more astonishing sagacity, feared that the King might proceed, by what the lawyers call *remitter*, to the prerogatives of the British Kings before Julius Cæsar, which would supersede Magna Charta," *Constitutional History of England*, i. 423. Lenthall's other allusion was to the negativing of the proposal in the Long Parliament to alter the title of "Parliament," to "Representatives of the People." (See p. 48 above.).]

[2] ["concluding," *both texts.*]

Truly though Kingship be not a 'mere' Title, but a Name of Office that runs through the 'whole of the' Law; yet it is not so *ratione nominis,* from the reason of the name, but[6] from what is signified. It is a Name of Office plainly implying the Supreme Authority: it is no more; nor can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a Name of Office, plainly implying the Supreme Authority: and if it be so, why then I would suppose,—I am not peremptory in anything that is 'a' matter of deduction or inference of my own,—why I then should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or shall be the Name in which the Supreme Authority shall act—[*Sentence abruptly stops; the conclusion being visible without speech!*] Why, I say, if it had been these Four or Five Letters, or whatsoever else it had been—!

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[1] [" have," *both texts.*]

[2] [" absolute and necessary," *Ashmole MS.*]

[3] The Kingship: his Highness finds that the grammar will require to be attended to.

[4] [" Nor that they are—nor that it is I should say—so interwoven in the laws but that the laws may not possibly," *both texts.*]

[5] 'Grounds' originating with myself independently of yours. Is this the 'second' thing, which his Highness had in view, but did not specify after the 'first,' when he started? The issue proves it to be so.

[6] [" or," *Ashmole MS.*]

That signification goes to the *thing*,[1] certainly it does; and not 'to' the name. [*Certainly!*] Why, then, there can no more be said but this: As such a Title hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed.[2] And certainly in the right of the Authority, I mean as a Legislative Power,—in the right of the Legislative Power, I think the Authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name, and therefore it was but derived from that 'Authority.' And certainly they, 'the primary Legislative Authority,' had the disposal of it, and might have had it[3] and might have detracted 'from it,' or changed 'it:'—and I hope it will be no offence to you, to say as the case now stands, "So may you." And if it be so that you may, why then I say, there is nothing of *necessity* in your argument; but 'all turns on' consideration of the expedience of it. [*Is the Kingship expedient?*]

'Truly' I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the original[4] question,—which I hope is altogether *out* of the question [*His Highness means, afar off, in a polite manner,* "You *don't pretend that I still need to be made Protector by you or by any creature!*"],—I had rather[5] have any Name from this Parliament than any 'other' Name without it: so much do I think of the authority of the Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that; I believe the Nation is very much of my mind,—though that be an uncertain way of arguing, *what* mind *they* are of.[6] I think we may say that without offence; for I would give none! [*No offence to you, Honourable Gentlemen; who are here, by function, to interpret and signify the Mind of the Nation. It is very*

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[1] [The *Ashmole MS.* here inserts, "and not to the name." Quite possibly this is right, as Cromwell was fond of repeating his words, when he wished to be emphatic.]

[2] ["Why this hath been fixed, so it may have been unfixed," *Monarchy Asserted;* "Why this has been said. This has been the name fixed, under which the Supreme Authority has been known. Happily [*i.e.*, haply] as it hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed," *Ashmole MS.*]

[3] [Last five words omitted by Carlyle, but in *both texts.*]

[4] ["natural," *both texts.*]

[5] ["but I had rather," *ibid.*]

[6] Naturally a delicate subject; some assert the Nation has never recognised his Highness,—himself being of a very different opinion indeed!

difficult to do!]—Though the Parliament be the truest way to know what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself; and if that be one of your arguments—[*" That:" what, your Highness? That the mind of the Nation, well interpreted by this Parliament, is really for a King? That our Laws cannot go on without a King?—His Highness means the former mainly, but means the latter too; means several things together, as his manner sometimes is, in abstruse cases!*]—I hope I may urge against it, that the reason of my own mind is not quite to that effect.[1] But I 'do' say undoubtingly (let us think 'about other things, about the mind of the Nation and such like,' what we will),[2] What the Parliament settles is that which will run, 'and have currency,' through the Law; and will lead the thread of Government through the Land[3] as well as what hath been, considering that what hath been, hath been but upon the same account, 'by the same authority,' save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing [*This thing of Kingship*], it is but upon the same account! It had its original somewhere! And it was with consent[4] of the whole,—there was the original of it. And consent of the whole will 'still,' I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all; [*The same tailor-metaphor a second time*]—and I think no man will pretend right against it, or wrong!

And if so, then, under favour to me, I think all those arguments from the Law are (as I said before) *not necessary*, but are to be understood upon the account of *conveniency*. It is in your power to dispose and settle; and before 'hand' we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as those things that were before—especially as to this individual thing, the Name or Title,—according to the Parliament's appointment.[5]

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[1] [" And that that be made one argument, I hope I may urge against that, else I cannot freely give a reason for my own mind," *both texts.*]

[2] [parenthesis omitted in *Ashmole MS.*]

[3] [" law," *ibid.*]

[4] [" in consent, in consent of the whole," *ibid.*]

[5] [" upon Parliamentary account," *both texts.* It must be noticed that the whole of the next sentence is inserted by Carlyle.]

'Is not this so? It is question not of necessity; we have power to settle it as conveniency directs.'

Why then, I say, there will be way made (with leave) for me to offer a reason or two to all that hath else been said[1] otherwise, I say my mouth is stopped! [*His Highness is plunging in deep brakes and imbroglios; hopes, however, that he now sees daylight athwart them.*]

There are very many inforcements to carry on this thing. [*Thing of the Kingship.*] 'But' I suppose it will 'have to' stand on its[2] expediency and fitness—Truly I should have urged one consideration more that I had forgotten [*Looks over his shoulder in the jungle, and bethinks him!*],—namely, the argument not of reason only, but of *experience.*[3] Perhaps it is a short one, but it is a true one (under favour), and is known to you all in the fact of it (under favour) although there has been no Parliamentary declaration. [*A damnable iteration; but too characteristic to be omitted*]: That the Supreme Authority going in *another* Name and under another Title than 'that of' King, why it hath been 'already' complied-with twice without it [*Long Parliament, called "Keepers of the Liberties of England," found compliance; and now the "Protectorate" finds.*] 'Twice': that is under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ,*[4] 'and also' it hath, since I exercised the place, 'been complied-with.' And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. And to begin with the highest degree of Magistracy.[5] At the first alteration, and when that was the Name, and though it was the name of an invisible thing, yet the very Name, 'I say,' was obeyed 'and' did pass for current, and was received and did carry on the Justice of the Nation. I remember very well that my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled, and yet upon consideration,—if I mistake not,—I believe so,—'they,' there being among[1] them (without reflection) as able and as learned as have sat there,—though they did, I confess, at first, demur a little,—yet *they* did receive satisfaction, and did act, as I said before. [*Untwist this extraordinary* WITHE *of a sentence; you will find it not inextricable, and very characteristic of Oliver!*] 'And' I profess it for my own part [*My own Protectorate*], I think I may say it: Since the beginning of *that* change,—'though' I would be loath to speak anything vainly,—but since the beginning of that change unto this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the Laws, not even in those years called, and not unworthily,[2] the "Halcyon Days of Peace,"—in Queen Elizabeth's[3] and King James's and King Charles's time; I do not think but that the Laws proceed with as much freedom and justice, 'and' with less private solicitation,[4] as they did in those years so named,—'Halcyon,' since I came to the Government. I do not think, under favour,—[*His Highness gets more emphatic*]—that the Laws have had a more free exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of Power, 'in those years than now; or that' the Judges 'have been' less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in *double* so many years, in all those times 'named' of Peace! [*Sentence involving an incurable Irish bull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless!*] And if more of my Lords

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[1] [Carlyle altered to "the other considerations you adduced."]

[2] ["stand upon a way of," *both texts.*]

[3] ["and that is not only to urge the things for reason but for experience," *Monarchy Asserted*; "and that is not only to urge from reason but from experience," *Ashmole MS.*]

[4] [Cromwell's allusion is to the fact that upon the death of the King, the Commons altered the old style in the Courts of Justice to *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, Auctoritate Parliamenti.* It was also ordered that henceforth the writs should run in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England. The tract has *libertates* and *Ashmole MS. libertatum,* but the true form is as above.]

[5] [Carlyle seems here to have missed the point,—*i.e.*, that the highest magistracy (the Judges) had accepted the name *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ* at once upon the alteration—and is so confused that the old text is given instead. The following was Carlyle's amendment, "Now this 'on the part of both these Authorities' was a beginning with the highest degree of magistracy at the first alteration and at a time when that 'Kingship' was the name 'established' and 'the new

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name' though it was the name," &c. The *Ashmole MS.* has "highest degree of majesty," probably copied from "magistracy" written with a contraction mark.]

[1] ["of them," *both texts.*]

[2] ["I do not think that in so many years [of] those that were called, and worthily so accounted," *ibid.*]

[3] [*Monarchy Asserted* misprinted this "20 Eliz."]

[4] ["either from that that was called then so, or since I came," *ibid.*]

the Judges were here than now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat farther.[1]— —And therefore I say, under favour: These two Experiences do manifestly show that it is not a *Title*, though 'never' so interwoven with the Laws, that makes the Law to have its free passage, and 'to' do its office without interruption (as we 'venture to' think 'it is now doing'): 'not a Title, no;' but that if a Parliament shall determine that another Name shall run through the Laws, I believe it may run with as free a passage as this 'of King ever did.' Which is all that I have to say upon that head.

And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under a more different consideration:[2] and then I shall arrive 'at the Second thing I had in view,' at some issue to answer for *myself* in this great matter. And all this while, nothing that I shall say doth any way determine against my 'final' resolution, or 'intimate any' thoughts against the Parliament's wisdom in this matter[3] but 'endeavoureth' really and honestly and plainly towards such an answer as may be fit for me to give.[4] The Parliament desires to have this Title. It hath stuck with me, and yet doth stick. As truly, and I hinted the other day,[5] it seemed as if your arguments[6] to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be done, and 'partly' comparative grounds; stating the matter as[7] you were 'then' pleased to do, —and 'which' I gave no cause for that I know of, that is, to compare the effects of Kingship with 'those of' such a Name as I for the present bear, with 'those of the' Protectorship 'to wit.' I say, I hope it will not be understood that I do contend for the Name; 'or for' any name, or any thing 'of a merely extraneous nature;' but truly and plainly 'for the substance of business,'—if I speak as in the Lord's presence; ay, in all right things, as a person under the disposal of the Providences of God,—neither 'naming' one thing nor other; but only endeavouring to give fit answer as to this 'proposed' Name or Title.[1] For I hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody—'much less to the Parliament,' because I have professed[2] I have not been able,—and I have said truly I have not 'yet' been able,—to give one to myself 'in regard to your Proposal.' But I would be understood in this. [*Yes, your Highness. "That it is not "doubt of the Parliament's wisdom; that it is not vain preference or "postponence of one 'name' to another; but doubt as to the substantial expediency of the thing proposed, uncertainty as to God's "will and monition in regard to it,—that has made and still makes "me speak in this uncomfortable, haggling, struggling and wriggling "manner. It is no easy thing forcing one's way through a jungle of "such depth! An affair of Courtship moreover, which grows and has "to grow by the very handling of it! I would not be misunderstood "in this."*]

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[1] Reform of Chancery; improvements made in Law. ["They could tell what to say to what hath been done since," *both texts.*]

[2] 'Other things,' your other arguments, may lose a great deal of their formidable air of cogency, as if Necessity herself were backing them.

[3] ["determine anything against any resolution or thoughts of the Parliament," *Ashmole MS.*]

[4] ["considering what is fit for me to answer," *both texts.*]

[5] Saturday last, day before Yesterday.

[6] ["And truly, although I hinted the other day that I thought that your arguments to me," *both texts.*]

[7] ["saying that which," *ibid.*]

I am a man standing in the Place I am in [*Clearly your Highness*]; which Place I undertook not so much out of the hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil [*Note this*],—which I did see was imminent in[3] the Nation. I say,[4] we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily 'have' run into blood; and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the Place that now I have. [*With tones, with a look of sorrow, solemnity and nobleness; the brave Oliver!*] 'A Place,' I say, not so much of doing good,[5]—

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[1] The original (Somers, vi. 398) unintelligible, illegible except with the powerfullest *lenses*, yields at last,—with some slight changes of the points and so forth,—this sense as struggling at the bottom of it. ["But truly and plainly—if I speak as in the Lord's presence—I in all things wait as a person under the disposition of the providence of God, neither naming one thing nor another, but only answering to this name or title," in both *Ashmole MS.* and *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["because I have not professed," *Ashmole MS.*]

[3] ["upon," *ibid.*]

[4] ["I saw," *ibid.*]

[5] ["I say, not so much out of the hope of doing good," *ibid.*]

which a man *may* lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience,—a man *may* (I say) lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience; a man may lawfully, as the case may be (though the case is very tickle),[1] desire a great Place to do good in! [*Window once more into his Highness! "Tickle" is the old form of* TICKLISH: *"a tickle case indeed," his Highness candidly allows; yet a case which does occur,—shame and woe to him, the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tapethrums, that neglects it when it does!*] But I profess I had not that apprehension, when I undertook the Place, that I could do much good; but I did think I might prevent imminent evil.—And therefore I am not contending for one name compared with another;—and therefore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used in giving preference to 'the name' Kingship or Protectorship. For I should almost think that any name were better than my Name; and I should altogether think any person fitter than I am for any such business: [*Your Highness?—But St. Paul too professed himself "the chief of sinners,"—and has not been altogether thought to "cant" in doing so!*]—and I compliment not, God knows it! But this I would say, That I do think from my very heart, you, in settling[2] of the peace and liberties of this Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did for somewhat that may beget a consistence, 'ought to attend to that;' otherwise the Nation will fall to pieces! And in that, as far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as a Constable 'if you like!' For truly I have, as before God, thought it often that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood 'in,' save comparing myself to[3] a good Constable 'set' to keep the peace of the Parish. [*Hear his Highness!*] And truly this hath been my content and satisfaction in the troubles that I have undergone, That yet you have peace.

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[1] ["fickle," *Ashmole MS.*]
[2] ["that in your settling," *both texts.*]
[3] ["comparing it with," *ibid.*]

Why now, truly,—if I may advise,—I wish to God you may but be so happy as to keep 'the' peace still![1] If you cannot attain to such perfection as to accomplish this[2] 'that we are now upon,' I wish to God we may 'still' have peace,—that do I![3] But the fruits of righteousness are shown[4] in meekness; a better thing than we are aware of!— —I say therefore, I do judge for myself there is no such necessity of this Name of King;[5] for other Names may do as well. I judge for myself. I must say a little (I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to this matter), why I cannot undertake this Name. [*We are now fairly entered upon the Second head of method.*] Why, truly[6] I must needs go a little out of the way, to come to my reasons. And you will be able to judge of them when I have told you them. And I shall deal seriously, as before God.[7]

If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behoves me to say 'that,' I 'do,' know my calling from the first to this day. I was a person that, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and I did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me 'therein' as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly,—and then in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too,—desire to make my instruments help me in that work.[8] And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to you all,—Mr. John Hampden. [*Hear, hear;—a notable piece of History?*] At my first going out into this engagement,[9] I saw our[10] men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and I desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of[1] some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in[1] as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not.[2] "Your troopers,"[3] said I, "are most "of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind "of fellows; and," said I, "their troopers[3] are gentlemen's sons, "younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that the "spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to "encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and reso-"lution in them?" Truly I presented 'to' him[4] in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: "You must get men "of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say,—I know you will "not,—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will "go:—or else I am sure you will be beaten still." I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one.[5] [*Very natural in Mr. Hampden, if I recollect him well, your Highness! With his close thin lips, and very vigilant eyes; with his clear official understanding; lively sensibilities to "unspotted character," "safe courses," &c. &c. A very brave man; but formidably thick-quilted, and with pincer-lips, and eyes very vigilant.—Alas, there is no possi-*

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[1] If I may advise, I should say the purport and soul of our whole enquiry at present ought to be that of keeping the peace.

[2] ["if you cannot attain to these perfections as to do this," *both texts.*]

[3] ["though I do," *Ashmole MS.*]

[4] ["sown," *ibid.*]

[5] ["necessity of the thing," *both texts.*]

[6] ["truly, truly," *Ashmole MS.*]

[7] [The last three words omitted in *ibid.*]

[8] ["desired to make of my instruments to help me in that work," *Monarchy Asserted;* "desire to make use of my instruments to help in this work," *Ashmole MS.* Perhaps it should be "desired to make myself instruments to help."]

[9] enterprise.

[10] ["their," *both texts.*]

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[1] [word omitted in *Ashmole MS.*]

[2] A notable clause of a sentence, this latter too; physiognomic enough;—and perhaps very liable to be misunderstood by a modern reader. The old phrase, still current in remote quarters. "It's no lie," which signifies an emphatic and even courteous assent and affirmation, must be borne in mind.

[3] ["troopers," is an emendation from the *Ashmole MS.* Carlyle printed "troops," following *Monarchy Asserted*, but the *Ashmole MS.* is almost certainly right, and confirms Dr. Gardiner's statement that Cromwell was speaking of cavalry only. See note 5 below.]

[4] ["I pressed him," *Ashmole MS.*]

[5] [Dr. Gardiner says that it is useless to attempt to fix the date of this conversation exactly, but that the reference to the raising of new regiments seems to connect it with the raising of forces under Warwick. "After Edgehill, there would probably have been something said of the troops which were not beaten there. At all events, Cromwell was talking of cavalry only, as his description would not suit the royalist infantry," *Great Civil War*, i. 40, note. It might be added that the description would not suit the Parliament infantry either, for some of the foot regiments were very good.]

bility for poor Columbus at any of the Public Offices, till once he become an Actuality, and say, "Here is *the America I was telling you of!"*] Truly I told him I could *do* somewhat in it. I did do so,—'did this somewhat:' and truly I must needs say this to you, 'The result was,'—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did; [*The Ironsides; yea!*] and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy,[1] they beat continually. [*Yea!*][2] And truly this is matter of praise to God:—and it hath some instruction in it, To own men that are religious and godly, and so many of them as are peaceably and honestly and quietly disposed to live within 'rules of' Government; as[3] will be subject to those Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Authority—[*Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes here*]—I reckon no Godliness without this circle, but without this spirit[4] let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from diabolical spirits, from the height of Satan's wickedness[5]—[*Checks himself*]—Why truly I need not say more than to apply all this[6] 'to the business we have in hand.'

I will be bold to apply this[7] to this purpose, because it is my all! I could say as all the world says, and run headily upon anything; 'but' I must tender this 'my present answer' to you as a thing that sways with my conscience; or else I were a knave and a deceiver. 'Well;' I tell you there are such men in this Nation; that are godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down with a worldly or carnal spirit while they keep their integrity. 'And' I deal plainly and faithfully with you, 'when I say:' that I cannot think that God would bless me in the[1] undertaking of anything, 'Kingship or whatever else,' that would justly and with cause, grieve *them.* 'True,' they may[2] be troubled *without* cause;— I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humour 'as that.' [*Leaves the matter open still!*] 'But' I say that there are honest men and faithful men, and true to the great things of the Government, to wit the Liberty of the People, giving them that is due to them, and protecting this Interest ('and' I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that)[3]—[*Sentence broken; try it another way*]—But if that I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this Title,—though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them—yet I must say, that it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me;[4] things, I mean, hard to *them,* that they cannot swallow. [*The Young Lady will and she will not!*] If the Nation may as well be provided-for without these things we have been speaking of[5] [*Kingships, &c.*], as, according to my apprehension,[6] it may,—'then' I think truly it will be no sin in you, it will be to you as it was to David in another case,[7] "no grief of heart in time coming,"[1] that you have a tenderness even possibly (if it be their weakness) to the weakness of those that have integrity and honesty[2] and uprightness, and 'who' are not carried away with the hurries that I see some are 'taken with,'—[*"A Standard lifted up," the other day!—We have had to turn the key upon them, in Chepstow, in the Tower and elsewhere*]—who think that their virtue lies in despising Authority, 'in' opposing it! I think you will be the better able to root out of this Nation that 'disobedient' spirit and principle,—and to do so[3] is as desirable as anything in this world,—by complying, indulging, and being patient to the weakness and infirmities[4] of men that have been faithful, and have bled all along in this Cause;—and 'who' *are* faithful, and will oppose all oppositions (I am confident of it) to the things that are the Fundamentals in your Government, in your Settlement for Civil and Gospel Liberties. [*Not ill said, your Highness; and really could not well be better thought!—The moral is: "As my old Ironsides, men fearing God, "proved the successful soldiers; so in all things it is men fearing "God that we must get to enlist with us. Without these we are lost: "with these, if they will be soldiers with us (not noisy mutineers like "Wildman, Harrison and Company, but true soldiers, rational persons "that will learn discipline),—we shall, as heretofore, hope to prevail "against the whole world and the Devil to boot, and 'never be beaten "at all,' no more than the Ironsides were. See, therefore, that you "do not disaffect* THEM. *Mount no foolish cockade or Kingship "which can convert* THEM, *rational obedient men, true in all essential "points, into mutineers."*]

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[1] ["they engaged the enemy," *Ashmole MS.*]

[2] [The version in the *Harley MS.* has "when I was captain of a troop of horse, I did certainly perceive that those that were under the King were gentlemen, younger sons, men of courage and spirit, . . . and I had a thought in my heart which I communicated to Col. Hampden, a man of honour, and that was, that that spirit that must contend and prevail against these men must be a spirit above them—which is *Godliness*; and I have urged my endeavour therein, and from that time to the end of the war I was never beaten." It is not likely that Cromwell put it in this personal fashion, but it shows how those around him identified him with his troops.]

[3] ["and," *Ashmole MS.*]

[4] ["but of this spirit," *ibid.*]

[5] Not 'height of Jotham's wickedness,' as the lazy Reporter has it. Jotham was not 'wicked' at all (Judges, c. 9). Nay the lazy Reporter corrects himself elsewhere,—if he had not been asleep! Compare p. 369, line 16 of Somers with p. 385, line 2. [It is not Jotham, but Jathan, in mistake for Sathan, in *Monarchy Asserted*; though it is printed Jotham in Somers. *Ashmole MS.* has Satan.]

[6] 'This' of my old proposal to Mr. Hampden; and how good it is to 'own men who are religious and godly.' ["apply it thus," *ibid.*]

[7] ["apply it thus."]

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[1] ["bless in undertaking," *Monarchy Asserted.*]
[2] ["they that will," *Ashmole MS.*; "that they will" *Monarchy Asserted.* Perhaps it should be "if they will."]
[3] ["and what you have a desire to do in that, and they that are truly honest will bless you for it," added in *Ashmole MS.*]
[4] ["them," *ibid.*]
[5] ["without these things that I have printed (altered in Burton to 'pointed') to you," *Monarchy Asserted;* "without these things by some of those things that I have hinted unto you," *Ashmole MS.* "Hinted" is probably right, though it may have been "pointed out."]
[6] ["poor apprehension," *ibid.*]
[7] Nabal's and Abigail's case (1 Samuel xxv. 31).

I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you—[*Young Lady now flings a little weight into the other scale,—and the sentence trips itself once or twice before it can get started*]—I must confess I would say—I hope I may be understood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience as this is:—

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[1] ["no grief of heart to yours," *Monarchy Asserted;* "it will be no sin to you as it was to David in another case, no grief of heart to you," *Ashmole MS.*]

[2] [last two words omitted in *ibid.*]

[3] ["and it is," *both texts.*]

[4] ["and infirmities" omitted in *Ashmole MS.*]

I say I would be understood, That in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, ‘mere dissentient individuals,’ and a[1] Parliament, ‘as to’ which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison. Nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour[2] that way, because the Parliament seems to give liberty to me to say whatever is on my mind[3] to you; as that ‘indeed’ that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment[4] and opinion[4] to *them*: and ‘now’ if I think these objectors to the Kingship[5] are such ‘as I describe,’ and ‘that they’ will be such to them; and ‘if I think that they’ are faithful servants and will be so to the Supreme Authority and the Legislative, wheresoever it is,—if, I say, I should *not* tell you, knowing their minds to be so, ‘then’ I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. [*Parliament very jealous lest the Army be thought of greater weight than it. We try to carry the scales even.*]

I will ‘now’ say[6] something for *myself*. ‘As’ for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things. I have not ‘hitherto clear direction’[7]—but as I have the Word of God, and I hope I shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information ‘and direction’; so, truly, if men have been led into dark paths[8] [*As this matter of the Kingship is to me even now; very “dark” and undecidable!*] through the providence[9] and dispensations of God—why surely it is not to be objected to a man! For who can *love* to walk in the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence[9] *sin-*

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[1] [“the,” *Ashmole MS.*]

[2] [“colour that may be,” *ibid.*]

[3] [“to say anything,” *both texts.*]

[4] [Plural in *Ashmole MS.*]

[5] ‘they’ in *orig.*

[6] [“And truly I would say,” *Ashmole MS.*]

[7] Coagulated Jargon (Somers, p. 370) is almost worth looking at here—never was such a Reporter since the Tower of Babel fell. [But *Ashmole MS.* has “I am not a man scrupulous about words or names or such things. I am not. But as I have the word,” etc. It is also so printed in Burton.]

[8] [“men that have been led in dark paths,” *Monarchy Asserted*; “men that have been in the dark paths,” *Ashmole MS.*]

[9] [“providences,” *ibid.*]

fully,—yet that must be at a man's *own* peril.[1] The case may *be* that it is the Providence of God that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say, I have had a great deal of experience of Providence;[2] and though it, '*such experience*' is no rule without or against the Word, yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in many cases. [*Yes, my brave one!*]

Truly the Providence[2] of God hath laid aside this Title 'of King' providentially *de facto:*[3] and this not by sudden humour or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great[4] deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been the issue of Ten or Twelve Years Civil War, wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done; nor need I now tell you what my opinion is in the case were it *de novo* to be done. [*Somewhat grim expression of face your Highness!*] But if it be at all disputable; and that a man comes and finds that God in His severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to Himself, but[5] 'also' hath made the issue and close of it to be the very eradication of a Name or Title—which *de facto* is 'the case,' it was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the Government that now I act in: it was done by the Long Parliament,—that was it.[6] And God hath seemed Providentially, 'seemed to appear as a Providence,' not only to strike at the Family but at the Name. And, as I said before, *de facto* it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out by an Act of Parliament; 'tis a thing that hath been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the Latter Times,[7]—he doth likewise 'say,' when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them,—they should hate even the *garments* spotted with the flesh.[8]

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[1] ["at my peril," *both texts.*]

[2] ["providences," *Ashmole MS.*]

[3] ["*de facto*, it is laid aside," *ibid.*]

[4] ["the issue of a great," *ibid.*]

[5] ["and," *both texts.*]

[6] Oliverian reduplication of the phrase: accent on *was.*

[7] Very familiar with this passage of Jude; see Speech II.

[8] Grammar a little imperfect. Really one begins to find Oliver would, as it were, have needed a *new* Grammar. Had all men been *Olivers*, what a different set of *rules* would Lindley Murray and the Governesses now have gone upon! ["He doth likewise, when he comes to exhort the saints, tell them," *Ashmole MS.*]

I beseech you think not that I bring this[1] as an argument to prove anything.[2] God hath seemed so to deal with the Persons and with the Family that He blasted the 'very' Title.[3] And you know when a man comes, *a parte post,* to reflect, and see this is *done,* and 'this Title' laid in the dust,—'I confess' I can make no 'other' conclusion but this. [*"But that God seems to have blasted the very Title;"—this, however, is felt to need some qualifying.*] The like of this may make a strong impression[4] upon such weak men as I am;—and perhaps (if there be any such) upon weaker men it will be stronger. I will not seek to set up that, that Providence hath destroyed, and laid in the dust; and I would not build Jericho again! And this is somewhat to me, and to my judgment and 'my' conscience. That it is true,[5] it is that that hath an awe upon my spirit. [*Hear!*] And I must confess, as the times are,—they are very fickle, very uncertain, nay God knows you had need have a great deal of faith to strengthen you in your work, and all assistance; you had need to look at Settlement!—I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for Settlement for the Nation.[6] For the Nation needs it, and never needed it more! And therefore, out of the love and honour I bear you, I am forever bound to do, whatever becomes of me,[7] 'what is best for that;'—'and' I am forever bound to acknowledge you have dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one that deserves nothing.

Indeed, out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose *any* help [*Help of the Name " King;" help of the scrupulous Anti-King people:—it is a dark case!*] that may[8] serve you, that may[8] stand in stead to you, but would 'willingly' be a sacrifice [*King, Protector, Constable, or what you like*], that there might be, so long as God shall please to let this Parliament sit, a harmony,[1] and a better and good understanding between all of you. And,—whatever any man thinks,—it equally concerns one man 'of us' as another to go on to Settlement: and where I meet with any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to the end I might deal heartily[2] and freely, I would have you lose nothing [*Not even the Scrupulous*] that may stand you in stead in this way. I would advise you that if there be 'found' any of a froward and unmannerly or womanish spirit,—I would not have you lose them! I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who may help in this Work; that they should be offended by that that signifies no more to me than as I 'have' told you 'it does'.[3] That is 'to say' I do not think the thing necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many 'friends,' and multiply myself into many, that[4] would be to serve you in 'regard to' Settlement! And therefore 'I' would not that any, especially any of these that indeed perhaps are men that do think themselves engaged to continue to you, and to serve you, should be anyways disobliged from you.

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[1] ["bring it," *Ashmole MS.*]

[2] ["or to make any comparisons. I have no such thoughts," added in *ibid.*]

[3] ["seemed to deal so; He hath not only dealt so with the persons and that family, but He hath blasted the title," *ibid.*]

[4] ["they may have strong impressions," *both texts.*]

[5] ["That it is, truly," *Ashmole MS.*]

[6] [Last three words omitted in *ibid.*]

[7] [Last ten words omitted in *ibid.*]

[8] ["might," *ibid.*]

'I have now no more to say.' The truth is, I did make that my conclusion to you at the first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in.[5] I may say that I cannot, with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service that I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments to 'the' safety 'of your Proposal,' and as to[6] its tendency to an effectual carrying-on of this Work. [*There are many angry suspicious persons listening to me, and every*

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[1] [Last two words omitted, *Ashmole MS.*]

[2] ["faithfully," *ibid.*]

[3] [The order of this last sentence is changed in *Ashmole MS.*, and some words are omitted.]

[4] ["I," *Ashmole MS.*]

[5] "This was my *second* head of method; all this about myself and my own "feelings in regard to the Kingship,—after I had proved to you in my first head "that it was not *necessary*, that it was only *expedient* or *not expedient*. I am now "therefore got to the end of my second head, to my conclusion."

[6] ["in order to," *both texts.*]

word is liable to different misunderstandings in every different narrow head!] I say, I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God Almighty that He would direct you to do 'what is' according to His will. And this is that poor account I am able to give you of myself in this thing.*

And so enough for Monday, which is now far spent: 'till to-morrow at three o'clock'[1] let us adjourn; and diligently consider in the interim.

His Highness is evidently very far yet from having made up his mind as to this thing; the undeveloped Yes still balancing itself against the undeveloped No, in a huge dark intricate manner, with him. Unable to 'declare' himself; there being in fact nothing to declare hitherto, nothing but what he does here declare,—namely, darkness visible. An abstruse time his Highness has had of it, since the end of February, six or seven weeks now; all England sounding round him, waiting for his Answer. And he is yet a good way off the Answer. For it is a considerable question this of the Kingship: important to the Nation and the Cause he presides over; to himself not unimportant,—and yet to himself of very minor importance, my erudite friend! A Soul of a man in right earnest about its own awful Life and Work in this world; much superior to 'feathers in the hat,' of one sort or the other, my erudite friend!—Of all which he gives here a candid and honest account; and indeed his attitude towards this matter is throughout, what towards other matters it has been, very manful and natural.

However, on the morrow, which is Tuesday, at three o'clock, the Committee cannot see his Highness; attending at Whitehall, as stipulated, they find his Highness indisposed in health;—are to come again tomorrow, Wednesday, at the same hour. Wednesday they come again; 'wait for above an hour in the Council-Chamber;'—Highness still indisposed, "has got a cold:" Come again tomorrow, Thursday! 'Which,' says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who was there, 'did strongly build up the faith of the Contrariants,'—He will not dare to accept, think the Contrariants. The Honourable House in the mean while has little to do but denounce that Shoreditch Fifth-Monarchy Pamphlet, the *Standard set up*, which seems to be a most incendiary piece;—and painfully adjourn and re-adjourn, till its Committee do get answer. A most slow business; and the hopes of the Contrariants are rising.[1]

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* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 365-371. [That is *Monarchy Asserted;* also *Ashmole MS.* 749; and abridged report, *Harley MS.* 6846 f. 236.]

[1] Burton, ii. 2.

Thursday, 16th April 1657, Committee attending for the third time, the interview does take effect; Six of the Grandees, Glynn, Lenthall, Colonel Jones, Sir Richard Onslow, Fiennes, Broghil, Whitlocke, take up in their order the various objections of his Highness's former Speech, of Monday last, and learnedly rebut the same, in a learned and to us insupportably wearisome manner; fit only to be entirely omitted. Whitlocke urges on his Highness That, in refusing this Kingship, he will do what never any that were actual Kings of England did, reject the advice of his Parliament.[2] Another says, It is his duty; let him by no means shrink from his duty!—Their discoursings, if any creature is curious on the subject, can be read at a great length in the distressing pages of *Somers*,[3] and shall be matter of imagination here.[4] His Highness said, These were weighty arguments; give him till tomorrow to think of them.[1] 'Tomorrow at three: *spero!*' says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who is not one of the Contrariants.

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[1] [A letter of April 16th says: "Our Protector cannot be drawn to accept of Kingship, notwithstanding their frequent addresses to him; he takes further time to satisfy his conscience. The Parliament have done nothing but this since Easter, nor will, till this is finished. We think he is the more shy because the Major-Generals and much of the army are against it. Last week our Fifth Monarchy men were arming to dethrone him as an Antichrist, and Gideon-like, doubted not to do it with such a number that one should chase a thousand. Twenty or thirty are taken into custody. Major Harrison and some others of that judgment may be in the plot. Now we hear he has lately got a cold and is much indisposed. 'Tis said, because they have sworn against Kingship, the name of Emperor will well content them." Hum. Robinson to Jos. Williamson. Abstract. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1656, 1657, p. 344.]

[2] Somers, p. 386.

[3] *Ibid.* vi. 371-387.

[4] [There are several letters amongst the Duke of Sutherland's MSS., in relation to the conferences concerning kingship. On April 21, the writer says that he has met a kinsman, a parliament man, who told him more exactly "what had passed on Thursday twixt the Protector and the House, as thus:—the House having been two days before to speak with him, but could not, because of his indisposition of health, but on Thursday he came out of his chamber half unready in his gown, and a black scarf about his neck, and made his apology for the loss of their former labour; and when he had done his speech, Serjt. Glynne spake to him in answer to all the objections he gave them in writing . . . and when Glynne had ended, the Master of the Rolls, Lenthall, spake very boldly, . . . and then spake the Lord Broghill excellently well to the same purpose, and after him spake Whitlocke, showing invincible reasons and arguments of necessity that the Protector should take upon him the kingly government. When he had ended his speech, the Protector applied himself to the Lord Whitlocke and told them all that he must confess they had all convinced him in all his objections, insomuch that for the present he knew not what to say to them, but desired them to come to him next day; the meantime

SPEECH XII

ALAS, tomorrow at three his Highness proves again indisposed; which doth a little damp our hopes, I fancy! Let us appoint Monday morning: Monday ten o'clock, 'at the old place,' Chamber of the Council-of-State in Whitehall. Accordingly, on Monday 20th April 1657, at the set place and hour, the Committee of Ninety-nine is once more in attendance, and his Highness speaks, —answering our arguments of Thursday last, and indicating still much darkness.[2]

'MY LORDS,'[3]

I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you, the other day, to enforce your conclusion as to that Name and Title, which has been the subject of various Debates and Conferences between us.[4] I shall not now

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he would take a further consideration of it and then he would give them satisfaction. So the House went to him on Friday, but they lost their labour, for he was not well and could not be spoken with." *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 163.]

[1] Burton, ii. 5.

[2] [This speech is in the small volume—*Add. MSS.* 6125—but being put before some of the earlier ones, has not been noticed by the editor of Burton's *Diary*, whose only text was *Monarchy Asserted*, the worst text of the Protector's speeches that we have. Its inaccuracy comes out particularly in the reports of the speeches of the Committee, on the 16th, alluded to above. For instance "to set down all authorities and boundaries" (MS. 6125) becomes "authorities and abundances" in *Monarchy Asserted;* "if in the notion only it seems impracticable, in the acting it will be," etc., is misprinted "if in the nation," etc., and "especially when the thing *not* differed in is the settling of a foundation, and the thing differed upon is only a name" is turned into "especially when the thing differed in, as the settling our foundation," etc., where the omission of one word and the alteration of another, turns sense into nonsense. Allowing for the mistakes and misprints in *Monarchy Asserted*, and for small omissions here and there in both texts, it may be surmised that the two were copied from a common source. If not they must follow very closely the Protector's own words.]

[3] [Probably should be in the singular. See Carlyle's own remark, p. 53 above.

[4] ["To enforce the conclusion that refers to the name and title, that was the subject matter of the debates and conferences that have been between us," *both texts.*]

spend your time nor my own much, in repeating those arguments, and giving answers to them. Indeed I think they are 'mainly' but the same we formerly had, only with some additional inforcements by new instances: 'and' truly, at this rate of Debate, I might spend your time,[1] which I know is very precious; and unless I were 'to end in being' a satisfied person, the time would spin out, and be very unprofitably[2] spent,—so it would. I only must say a word or two to that that I think was new.

'You were pleased to say some things as to the power of 'Parliament, as to the force of a Parliamentary sanction in this 'matter.'[3] What comes from the Parliament in the exercise of their Legislative power, as this Proposal does,[4]—I understand it to be an exercising of the *Legislative* power, and the Laws were always formerly passed 'in' this way 'of Proposal or Conference,' and that 'way' of Bills was of a newer date,—I understand that, I say; but——[*In short, the Sentence falls prostrate, and we must start again.*] You said, "that what was done by the Parlia-"ment now, and simply made to hang upon this Legislative "power, 'as any Title but that of King will do,' might seem "partly as if it were a thing *ex dono*, not *de jure;* a thing that "had not the same weight, nor the same strength, as if it bore a "reference to 'the general Body of' the Law[5] that is already in "being." I confess there is some argument in that,—that there is! But if the 'degree of' strength will be as good without Parliamentary sanction[6] 'then'—[*Sentence pauses, never gets started again.*]— —Though *it* 'too, this Title of Kingship,' comes as a gift from you, I mean as a thing that you 'either' provide for the people[1] or else it will never come to them; so in a sense it comes from *you*, it is that that *they* cannot otherwise come by, and therefore in a sense it is *ex dono;* for he that helps a man to what he cannot otherwise come by, he doth do an act that is very near a gift; and you helping *them* to this Title[2] it is a kind of gift to them, 'since' otherwise they could not have it 'though theirs'—[*This Sentence also finds that it will come to nothing, and so calls halt.*] But if you do it simply by your Legislative power —[*Halt again.—In what bottomless imbroglios of Constitutional philosophy and crabbed Law-logic, with the Fifth-Monarchy and splenetic Contrariants looking on, is his poor Highness plunging! A ray of natural sagacity now rises on him with guidance.*] The question, "What makes such a thing as this more firm?" is not the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of your 'or another's' doing of it; there remains always the grand question after that; the grand question lies, In the *acceptance* of it by those who are concerned to yield obedience to it and accept it![3] [*Certainly, your Highness; that is worth all the Law-logic in the world!*] And therefore if a thing [*Like this Protectorate, according to your argument,—not altogether to mine*] that hath for its root and foundation but your Legislative 'sanction' in an act of yours—If I may put a But to it, 'to that most valid sanction!' I do not intentionally[4] do so: for I say, It is as good a foundation as that other is,[5] 'which you ascribe to the Kingship, howsoever "grounded in the body of Law."' And if it, 'that Protectorate,' be as well accepted, and that the other be less 'well'—? 'Why,' then truly *it* is, I should think, the better;—and then all that, I say, is founded upon the Law; I say, all those arguments that are founded in the Law are for the Kingship.[6] Because, it hath been said, it doth agree with the Law; the Law knows the office,—the People know it, and the people are likelier to receive satisfaction that way. Those have been arguments that have [*"had" is truer, but less polite*] been 'used' already; and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And therefore, I say, all[1] those arguments may stand as we found them and left them already;—except, truly, this 'one point.' It hath been said[2] to me, [*Saluting my Lord Whitlocke slightly with the eye, whose heavy face endeavours to smile in response*] 'that' I am a person who meditate to do what[3] never any that was actually King of England [did]:[4] Refused the Advice of [this][4] Parliament. I confess, that runs 'deep enough, that runs' to all; and that may be accounted a very great fault in me; and may rise up in judgment against me another time,—if my case be not different from any man's that was in the Chief Command and Government of these Nations, that ever was before. 'But' truly I think, all they that have been in this Office before, and owned in right of Law, were inheritors coming to it by birthright,—or if owned by the authority of Parliament, they yet had some previous pretence of title or claim to it. And so, under favour, I think I deserve less blame than any of them would have done, if I cannot so well comply with this Title, and 'with' the desire of Parliament in regard to it, as these others might do. For they when they were *in*, would have taken it for an injury *not* to be in. Truly such an argument, to *them*, might be very strong,[5] why they should not refuse that which is tendered them by the Parliament! But 'as for me,' I have dealt plainly with you: and I have not complimented with you 'in saying' [I have not desired][1] I have no title to, the Government of these Nations, 'No title,' but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and 'as a' temporary 'means' to supply the present emergency; without which we must needs—[*Have gone you know whither!*]—I say we had been all 'topsyturvying now' after the rate of the Printed Book 'you have just got hold of' [*Shoreditch* STANDARD SET UP, *and Painted Lion there*], and after the rate of those men that have been taken going into arms,—if that expedient[2] had not been taken! That was visible to me as the day, unless I undertook it.[3] And so, it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament,—[it being 'put' upon me][4] to take the power into my hand after the Assembly of Men that was called together had been dissolved[5]— —[*"I took it, as you all know:" but his Highness blazing off here, as his wont is when that subject rises, the Sentence explodes*]—!—

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[1] [" although indeed I think they are but the same that they were formerly, only there were some additional enforcements of those arguments by new instances. I think truly, after the rate of debate, I may spend your time," *both texts.*]

[2] [" unpracticable spent," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] Glynn, Lenthall, Broghil, Whitlocke (Somers, pp. 371, 2, 384-6).

[4] [" their legislative power, which this is," *both texts.*]

[5] [" But it is said, that what is done by the Parliament now, and simply hangs upon their legislative, seems to be a thing that is *ex dono* and not *de jure*, not a thing that is of so good weight and so strong as what refers from them to the law." *ibid.*]

[6] [" without it," *ibid.* " It" here appears to mean not the Parliament sanction, but the title of King, as it does below.]

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[1] ["for them," *both texts.*]

[2] ["to it," *ibid.*]

[3] ["The question is not what makes this more firm, whether the manner of your [the, *Monarchy Asserted*], settling of it or the manner of your doing it [it is always as a great labour, *Monarchy Asserted*], but the question lies in the acceptation of them who are concerned to yield obedience and accept this," *both texts.*]

[4] [This word omitted in *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[5] ["other title," *ibid.*]

[6] ["for it," *both texts.* The wording of the sentence in *Monarchy Asserted* is somewhat different: "if it be as well accepted, and that the other is less than truly it is." It is often not easy to tell whether "then" or "than" is meant, as the latter was usually at that time, spelt like the former.]

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[1] ["also," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["only this I think truly, as it hath been said," *both texts.*]

[3] ["that hath done that, that, etc.," *ibid.*]

[4] [these words omitted in *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[5] ["And truly I think it is. They that have been in and owned to have been in, in the right of the law, as inheritors coming to it by birthright, or otherwise by the authority of Parliament, by the confirmation of Parliament, who yet have had some previous ["specious," *Monarchy Asserted*] pretence of title, or claim to it; I think (under favour) I deserve less blame than another doth if I cannot so well comply with this title, with the desires of the Parliament in it, as others do, for they that are in would take it for an injury to be outed. Truly these arguments are very strong to them," *MS.* and *Monarchy Asserted*, with slight variations.]

Really the thing would have issued itself in this Book:—for as I am informed the Book knows an Author[6] [*Harrison, they say, is Author*]; that was a Leading principal Person in that Assembly! 'And' when[7] now I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart, and as before Almighty God), I did out of necessity undertake that 'Business,' that no man, I think, would have undertaken but myself,—it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental to keep the Peace of the Nation to this day. And to[8] keep it under a Title [*Protector*] that, some say, signifies but a keeping 'of' it to another's use,—to a better use; 'a Title' that may improve it to a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the continuance of my power or place either under one Title or another,—that have I not! and I say it: If the wisdom of the Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this Nation and the Interests of it,—the Interest of the People of God in the first place; of those Godly honest men, —for such a character I reckon them by, that live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency and virtue of a Christian calling[1] in their life and conversation—[*Sentence may be said to burst asunder here for the present, but will gather itself together again perhaps!*] for I reckon *that* proceeds from Faith [and love],[2] 'and from' looking to 'our' duties towards Christians [as Christians],[2] and to 'our' humanity to men as men; and to such Liberties and Interests as the People of this Nation are of:— and I 'do' look upon that as a standing truth of the Gospel; and he who lives up to that, according to that, is a Godly Man in my apprehension! [*Looks somewhat animated.*]— —And therefore I say, If the wisdom of this Parliament,—I speak not this vainly nor as[3] a fool, but as to God and in the presence of God,[4] —if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the Interests of this Nation, upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty to the people of God, and concernments of men as Englishmen [*Voice risen into a kind of recitative*],—I would have lain at their feet, or at anybody else's feet, that this might have run in such a current! [*Your Highness can't get out; no place for you now but here or in the grave!—His Highness fetches a deep breath.*]—And therefore, I say, I have no pretentions to things for myself; or to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me, 'and are already passing:' but I thank God I know[5] where to lay the weight that is laid upon me,—I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me! [*Ends, I think, in a kind of snort,—and the look partly as of an injured dove, partly as of a couchant lion.*]—

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[1] [These words not in *MS.*]

[2] ["if it," *MS.* and *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] ["It was as visible to me as the day, if I had not undertaken it," *ibid.*]

[4] [The words in brackets are not in *MS.*]

[5] ["had resigned their powers to me," *MS.*]

[6] ["the book hath an author," added in *ibid.*]

[7] ["why," *ibid.*]

[8] ["I keep it," *ibid.*]

I have not offered you any Name in competition with Kingship.

[1] [" The excellency of a Christian course," *Monarchy Asserted.*]
[2] [These words omitted in *ibid.*]
[3] ["like," *both texts.*]
[4] [Last six words omitted in *Monarchy Asserted.*]
[5] ["I know not," *both texts.* Perhaps should be "know now."]

I know the evil spirits of men may easily obstrude upon a man, That he would have a Name that the Law knows not, and that is boundless, and 'is one' under which a man may exercise more arbitrariness:[1] but I know there is nothing in that argument; and if it were in your thoughts to offer any Name[2] of that kind, I think, whatsoever it was,[3] you would bound it and limit it sufficiently. And I wish it were come to that, That no favour should be shown to me; but that the good of these Nations might be consulted;—as 'indeed' I am confident they will be by you in whatsoever you do.—But I may say a word to another thing[4] that doth a little pinch upon me: That it is my duty 'to accept this Title.'[5] I think it can be no man's duty nor obligation but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities and weaknesses; and 'conscious' that he is not able perhaps to encounter with 'it,'—although he may have a little faith too, for a little exercise. I say I do not know which way it can be imputed to me for a fault, or laid upon me as a duty, except I meant to gripe at the Government of these Nations without a legal consent,—which I say I have done in time past upon principles of Necessity, 'but have no call now to do again.' And I promise you, I shall think whatsoever is done without authority of Parliament in order to Settlement, will neither be very honest, nor to me very comprehensible[6] 'at this stage of the business.' I think we have fought for the Liberties of the Nation as well as for other Interests!—[*Checks himself.*]—

You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a 'desultory' way as this is. I may be borne withal, because I have not truly well borne the exercise that hath been upon me now these three or four days,[7]—I have not, I say. [*Besides you*

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[1] [*i.e.*, that the powers of a King are limited and defined by Law, while those of a Protector are not.]

[2] ["to do anything," *both texts.*]

[3] [Last three words not in *MS.*; "it would bound it," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[4] ["But I may say this in answer to that," *both texts.*]

[5] ["and the more when I am told that it is my duty," *ibid.*]

[6] ["nor yet that, that I understand," *both texts.*]

[7] ["years," *MS.*]

Highness is suffering from the dregs of a cold, and I doubt still somewhat feverish !]—I have told you my thoughts, and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to give me your grounds, and I have told you mine. And truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments 'that' were used when you were last here; but rather tell you what since, I tell you, lies upon[1] my heart,—'speaking to you' out of the abundance of difficulty and trouble that lies upon me. [*His Highness, sick of body, feverish, unequal to such a jungle of a subject and its adjuncts, is really weltering and struggling like a wearied man, in the thickets and puddles.*] And therefore you having urged me, I mean offered reasons to me, and urged them with such grounds as did occur to you; and I having told you, the last time I met you, that the satisfaction of them did not reach to me so as wholly to convince my judgment of what was of my duty,—I have thought rather to answer you with telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. [*Poor Sovereign Man !*]—

And truly my intentions and purposes, they are honest to the Nation,—and shall be, by the Grace of God. And I have it *not* in view[2] upon collateral pretences, 'either by asking this Kingship or by refusing it'—to act towards things that will be destructive to the liberties of this Nation! [*"I am worn and weary; let me be as clay in the hands of the potter!"*]— —Any man may give me leave *to die;* and everybody may give me leave to be as a dead man,—when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that is necessary for the carrying-on 'of' such a work! [*Poor Highness, still somewhat feverish, suffering from the dregs of a cold !*]

And therefore I do leave the former Debates as they were, and as we had them; letting you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper [*Petition and Advice*], the Instrument, I would say, in the other parts of it, 'unconnected with this of the Kingship.' And considering that there are very many particulars in the Instrument [*Holding it in his hand*], some of general reference[1] 'and' others specified, and all of weight (let 'this business of' the Title be what it will), of weight to the concernments of these Nations,—I think I may desire 'that' those 'particulars' may be 'really' such as will serve their object,—let the Title we *fix* upon be one or the other.[2] They might be such as the People should have no cause—[*Sentence checking itself*]—'But'[3] I am confident your care and faithfulness needs neither a spur nor any admonition to that![4]—I say, reading in your Order, by Order of 'the' Parliament for the Committee, I find mention there of "divers particulars," concerning which[5] if I do make any scruple of them, I should have the freedom with this Committee to cast[6] my doubts.

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[1] ["what sense lies upon," *MS.*]
[2] ["and I cannot tell how," *both texts.*]

The truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my hand[7] that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument; that, I hope, have a Public aspect with them; and therefore I cannot but presume they will be very welcome to you, and therefore I shall desire that you will read[8] them. [*Hands Whitlocke the Paper.*] I should desire, if it please you, that liberty,—which I submit to your judgment whether you think fit I should have it or no,[9]—that I might tender [to you][10] "these few things; and some others that I have in preparation [tomorrow in the afternoon][10]." And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can:—they are too large here, 'these in the Paper are diffuse.'[11] And if it please you, [that][10] tomorrow in the afternoon at three of the clock I may meet you again, I hope we shall come to know one another's minds: and shall agree to that that shall be to the glory of God, and 'for' the good of these Nations.*

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[1] [" some of the general, of reference," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] [" may be such as what they be applied either to one thing or another," *both texts.*]

[3] [" As," *ibid.*]

[4] [" any intimation to that," added in *MS.*]

[5] [" that there are divers particulars that are that," *both texts.*]

[6] canvass, shake out.

[7] A Paper of Objections by his Highness; repeatedly alluded to in the Journals; 'unhappily altogether lost now,' say the *Parliamentary History*, and the Editor of Burton,—not very unhappily, say my readers and I. [The original paper is still extant, at Welbeck, see note p. 102 below, and Supplement, No. 130 (1).]

[8] [" receive," *MS.*]

[9] [" think I have it," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[10] [Words in brackets omitted in *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[11] He gave them the complete Paper *on the morrow* (Burton, ii. 7.)

So much for Monday the 20th;—noontide and the hour of dinner being now nigh. Herewith *exeunt* till tomorrow at three.

We returned 'much unsatisfied with the Lord Protector's Speech,' says the Writer of *Burton;* it is 'as dark and promiscuous as before;' nobody can know whether he will have the Kingship or not. Sometimes the 'Contrariants' are up in hope, and sometimes again we,[1]—and the bets, if betting were permitted under Gospel Ordinances, would fluctuate not a little.

Courage, my Lord Protector! Blake even now, though as yet you know it not, is giving the Spaniards a terrible scorching for you, in the Port of Santa Cruz!—Worth noting: In those very minutes while the Lord Protector is speaking as above, there goes on far off, on the Atlantic brine, under shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, one of the fieriest actions ever fought by land or water; this action of the Sea-king Blake, at the Port of Santa Cruz. The case was this. Blake cruising on the coast of Spain, watching as usual for Plate Fleets, heard for certain that there was a Fleet actually coming, actually come as far as the Canary Isles, and now lying in the Bay of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe there. Blake makes instant sail thither; arrives there still in time this Monday morning early; finds the Fleet fast moored in Santa Cruz Bay; rich silver-ships, strong war-ships, Sixteen as we count them; stronger almost than himself,—and moored here under defences unassailable apparently by any mortal. Santa Cruz Bay is shaped as a horse-shoe: at the entrance are Castles, in the inner circuit are other Castles, Eight of them in all, bristling with great guns; war-ships moored at the entrance, war-frigates moored all round the beach, and men and gunners at command: one great magazine of sleeping thunder and destruction: to appearance, if you wish for sure suicide to run into, this must be it. Blake, taking measure of the business, runs into it, defying its loud thunder; much out-thunders it,—mere whirlwinds of fire and iron hail, the old Peak never heard the like;—silences the Castles, sinks or burns every sail in the

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* Somers, vi. 387-389, [*i.e.*, *Monarchy Asserted.* Also *Add. MS.* 6125, f. 11.]

[1] See Burton, ii. 7 *et seqq.*

Harbour; annihilates the Spanish Fleet; and then, the wind veering round in his favour, sails out again, leaving Santa Cruz Bay much astonished at him.[1] It is the last action of the brave Blake; who, worn out with toil and sickness and a cruize of three years, makes homewards shortly after; dies within sight of Plymouth.[2]

On the whole, the Spanish Antichrist finds his Highness a rough enemy. In these same April days, Six-thousand men are getting mustered here, 'furnished with new red coats' and other equipments, to join French Turenne in the Low Countries, and fight the Spaniard by land too. For our French Treaty has become a French League Offensive and Defensive,[3] to last for one year; and Reynolds is to be Land-General, and Montague to help him as Sea-General: of whom by and by there may be tidings.—But meanwhile this matter of the Kingship must be settled. All men wish it settled; and the present Editor as much as any! They have to meet tomorrow again, Tuesday 21st, at three o'clock: they for their uncertain airy talking, while so much hard fighting and solid work has to be managed withal.

SPEECH XIII

His Highness this Tuesday, we find, has deserted the question of the Kingship; occupies himself with the other points of the New Instrument, what he calls the 'essentials' of it; leaving that comparatively empty unessential one to hang undecided, for the present. The Writer of *Burton's Diary*, Nathaniel Bacon or another,[4] is much disappointed. The question of the Kingship not advanced a whit by this long Discourse, one of the most tedious we have yet listened to from his Highness. 'Nothing but a dark speech,' says he,[5] 'more promiscuous than before!'—A sensible Speech too, in some respects, Mr. Bacon. His Highness once more elucidates as he best can his past conduct, and the course of Providence in bringing us all hither to the very respectable pass we now stand in;—explains next what are the *essential* elements of keeping us safe here, and carrying us farther, as checking of Public Immorality, attention wiser and wiser to the Preaching Clergy, and for one indispensable thing, additional Provision of Cash;—and terminates by intimating with soft diffuseness, That when he has heard their answer as to these essential things (not that he makes them "conditions," that were terribly ill-judged!), he will then be prepared, in regard to unessential things, to King's Cloaks, Titles, and such-like frippery and feathers in the cap, which are not without use say the Lawyers, but which irritate weak brethren,—to give such answer as may reasonably be expected from him, as God may set him free to do.—Let us listen, us and Whitlocke who also has to report, the best we can.[1]

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[1] Heath's *Chronicle*, pp. 720, 1. [A narrative of the action by Capt. Richard Stayner, was read in Parliament on May 28 and ordered to be published. See *Commons Journals*, vii. 541 (where, however, Stayner is printed Story by mistake); *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1656-7, p. 387, and Burton, ii. 142-6. There is a copy of the Narrative at the Public Record Office, and two or three copies at the British Museum. (See E. 1954, no. 4, p. 25.).]

[2] 7th August 1657, in his Fifty-ninth year (*Biog. Brit.*, *in voce*).

[3] Signed 23d March 1656-7 (Godwin, iv. 540).

[4] [See note on p. 17 above.]

[5] Burton, ii. 7.

My Lord,[2]

I think you may[3] well remember what 'the' issue was of the last Conference I had with you 'yesterday,' and what the stick[4] was then. I confess I took occasion 'at that time,' from the Order of the Parliament; in which they gave you power to speak with me about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and Desire which you have been pleased to speak with me about; that I might confer with you about those particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether a good issue will be to all these affairs or no, is only in the hands of God. That is a great secret;—and secrets belong to God, and things revealed to us;—and such things are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours: and 'the course is,' as far as they may have relation to me, That you and I may consider what may be for 'the' public good 'therein,' that so they may receive such an impression[1] as can humanly be given to them.

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[1] [Carlyle printed from the only version he knew of, the old tract *Monarchy Asserted* (as given in Somers) but there is another text, and in many respects a better one, in *Add. MS.* 6125. See note p. 75 above.]

[2] [Carlyle altered this to the plural, but Oliver no doubt addressed himself to Whitelocke. See p. 53 above.]

[3] ["very," *MS.*]

[4] stop.

I would be well understood 'in' that I say, The former Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title; and that rests as it did. And now seeing that (as I said before), your order of Commitment, 'your Order to Committee,' doth as well reach to the particulars contained in the Instrument 'generally' as to that of the Title,—I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about *them* also. That so we may come to an understanding one with another, not What the thing is in parts, but What it is in the whole, conduceable to that end that we all ought to aim at,—which is a general Settlement upon good foundations. And Truly, as I have said even[2] to the Parliament itself (when it gave me the honour to meet me in the Banqueting-House), so I must say to you that are a Committee (a very considerable representation of them), that I am hugely taken with the word *Settlement*; with the thing, and with the notion[3] of it. 'And indeed' I think he is not worthy to live in England that is not! And I will do my part (so far as I am able), to expel that man out of the Nation who desireth not that in the general we come to a Settlement.[4] Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a Nation to be without it, and it is like a house (and much worse than a "house") divided against itself; it cannot stand without Settlement!—And therefore I hope we are all (so far) at a good point; and the spirit of the Nation, I hope, in the generality of it, is (so far) at a good point: we are all contending for *a* Settlement. That is sure. But the question is, *De modo*, and of those things 'and conditions' that will make it a good one, if it be possible. That is no fault, to aim at perfection in Settlement! 'And' truly I have said (and I say it again): That I think this 'present proposed Form of Settlement' doth tend to the making of the Nation enjoy the things we have 'all along' declared for;[1] and I would come upon that issue with all men, or 'with' any man.[2] The things we have declared 'for,' that have been the grounds of our quarrelling and fighting all along,—'the securing of these' is that that will accomplish our general work. Settlement is the general work. Now that which will give the Nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties; that will conserve the liberty of every man, and not rob any man of what is justly his;—I think, I hope those two things make up a Settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man; having endeavoured,[3] as we have done, through some strivings[4] of blood, to attain that end.

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[1] impulse and decision.

[2] ["often," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] ["motion," *MS.*]

[4] ["out of the nation, that doth not affect of that in the general to come to a settlement," *Add. MS.* 6125; "doth not approve," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

If I may tell you my 'own' experiences in this business, and offend no good man that loves the Public before that which is personal, truly I shall a little shortly recapitulate to you what my observations and endeavour and interest hath been to this end. And I hope no man that hath been interested in transactions all along[5] will blame me if I speak a little plainly. And he shall have no cause to blame me, because I will take myself into the number of Culpable Persons (if there be any such),—though perhaps apt enough, out of the self-love I have, to be willing to be 'reckoned' innocent where I am so;[6] and yet to be as willing 'withal' to take my reproach, if anybody will lay it upon me, where I am culpable! And truly I have, through the Providence of God, endeavoured to discharge a poor duty; having had (as I conceive), a clear call to the station I have acted in, in[7] all these affairs;—and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I shall not go about to say anything to make that out clear to you;[8] [*No, your Highness, let it stand on its own feet*]—but must exercise myself in a little short

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[1] ["that I think that [is it] that tends to the making of the nation to enjoy the things we have declared for," *both texts*, but words in brackets omitted in *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["men," *MS.*]

[3] ["who have endeavoured," *both texts.*]

[4] ["streamings," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[5] Not polite to add, "as I have been."

[6] ["apt enough out of self-love to be innocent where I am so and yet to be willing," *MS.*]

[7] ["through," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[8] ["to clear it to you," *ibid.*]

Chronology. To come to that 'issue,' [*Not the "Chronology," but what the Chronology will help to teach us!*] that I say, is really all our business at this time; and the business of this Nation: To come upon clear grounds; and To consider the Providences of God, how they hath led us hitherto.

After it pleased God to put an end to the War of this Nation; a final end; which was done at Worcester, in the determination and decision that was there by the hand of God,—for other War we have had none that, perhaps, deserves the name of War, since that time, which is now six years 'gone September last;'—I came (in September) up to the Parliament that then was, and truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very well disposed to put a good issue to all the Transactions that had been in the Nation; and I rejoiced at it. And though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs (having been near ten years in the Field); yet, in my poor measure, my desires did tend to some issue; believing verily that all the blood that had been shed, and all the distemper that God had suffered to be amongst us, and (in some sense) God had raised among us,—'believing, I say,' that surely Fighting was not the *end,* but the *means,* that had an end, and was in order to somewhat! Truly the end, then, was, I thought, Settlement; that is, that men might come to some consistence. And to that end I did endeavour to add my mite,—which was no more than the interest any one member there might have,—after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did,—I shall tell you no fable, but things 'of' which divers persons here can tell whether they be true or no, [*Threatening to blaze up again?*]—I did endeavour it.[1] I would make the best interpretation of 'all' this: but yet this is truth, and nothing of discovery on my part, but that which everybody knows to be true, That the Parliament, having done those memorable things —[*Sentence explodes; and even launches off into a panegyric of the Long Parliament,—preparatory to* EXECUTION]—that they had done; things of honour, and things of necessity; [things][1] that, if at this day you have any judgment that there lies a possibility upon you to do any good, 'and' to bring this Nation to any sort[2] of Settlement, I may say you are all along beholding to them in a good measure 'for.' But yet truly as men that contend for 'the' Public Interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, so it was with them; and truly, when they had made preparation that might lead to the issuing in some good for the Settlement of the Nations, in point of liberty, and 'in point of' freedom from tyranny and oppression 'and' from the hazard of our religion,—To throw it all away upon men who designed by innovations[3] to introduce Popery, and by complying with some notions introduce Arbitrariness upon a Civil account—[*"Royalist Malignants, in* 1647, 1648, *and Crypto-"Royalists; with their 'notions' that of all things indispensable, a "Stuart King was indispensablest? That would never have done! "The Long Parliament did need a Pride's Purge; could not"—But the Sentence here, in its hasty impatience, as is usual, bursts*]—Why they had more enemies than friends, 'that Long Parliament had;' they had so all along! And this made them careful, [*In* 1648, *trying to bargain with Charles, they were "full of care;" and even afterwards they could not decide all at once on granting a new Free Parliament and General Election; no!*] out of principles of Nature (that do sometimes suggest best), and upon the utmost undeniable grounds, they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves, and all this Cause, into hands that perhaps had no heart nor principle 'in common' with them to accomplish the end that *they* aimed at. [*In short, they, very properly, decided on sitting still for a while.*]

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[1] ["It was then I thought upon settlement; that is that men might come to some consistency; and to that end I did endeavour to add my mite, which was no more than the interest of any one member, I am sure (not of right) than any one member that was there (after I was returned again to that capacity) and I did (I shall tell you no fable but the things that divers persons here can tell whether I say true or no) I did endeavour it," *MS.*, and with small variations, *Monarchy Asserted.*]

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[1] [Omitted in *MS.*]

[2] ["foot," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] ["hazard of our religion by one that designed by innovations," *MS.*]

I say (perhaps through infirmity) they did desire to have continued themselves, and to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act,[1] which was perhaps justly enough obtained, and necessarily enough obtained, when they did get it from the King. 'But' though, truly, it was good in the first obtaining of it; yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives in this Cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course! Which was certainly the true way of 'doing' it,—in subserviency to the bringing-in that which might be a good and honest Settlement to the Nation.—I must say to you that I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves! And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon *all*, for perhaps some were not so;—I can say so of some of them. The sober men that I had converse with then, were not for continuing;[2] but the major part, I think, overruled, in-that they would have continued. This is true that I say to you: I was entreated 'to comply with the plan,' and advised to it; and it was to have been accomplished by this medium, 'They were' to have sent[3] into the country to have reinforced their number, and by new elections to have filled them up. And this excuse it had, 'That' it would not be against the Liberty of the People, nor against a *succession* of men coming into[4] rule and government; because as men died out of the House, so they should be supplied 'again.' [*Like Sir John Cockle's silk hose; which always, after infinite darnings, could remain the same hose, though not a thread of the original silk was now left in them: a perennial pair of stockings. Such was the plan of the Rump.*] And this was the best answer that could be given to that objection that was then made; That the best way to govern is to have men *successive*, and in such great bodies as Parliaments, to have men to learn[5] how to obey as well as 'how to' govern.[1] And truly the expedient they then offered was what I tell you.[2]

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[1] Act, 10th May 1641, That we are not to be dissolved without our own consent. Necessary in all ways; the City would not lend money otherwise,—not even money could be had otherwise (*Antea*, vol. i. p. 106).

[2] [" would not have had it perpetual," *MS.*; " perpetuated," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] [" was by this medium to have accomplished it, that is to have sent," *MS.*]

[4] [" the succession of men to come into," *ibid.*]

[5] [" to have men learn to know," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

The truth of it is, this did not satisfy a company of poor men, [*Certain insignificant individuals,—mentioned elsewhere by the same name!*] that had ventured[3] their lives, and had some thoughts that they had a little interest to inquire after these things! And the rather, because really they were invited out, 'first of all, into this War,' upon[4] principles of honesty, conscience and religion; for Spiritual Liberties; as many as would come. 'Yes;' when the Cause was a little doubtful, there was 'issued forth' a Declaration 'of that purport,' that was very inviting; and men did come in 'and enlist' upon that invitation;—and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary men, but men that had wives and children in the Nation, and 'who' therefore might a little look after satisfaction in what would be the issue of the Business! [*They told us always, We were Soldiers, sworn as our first duty to obey; but we answered* (*and it was intrinsically a fact*), *We were the most peculiar Soldiers that had ever handled steel in England; whereby our first, and also our second and third, duties had become modified a good deal!*]

And when this thing was thus pressed, and it may be, overpressed 'by us,' That a period might be put, and some ascertainment made,[5] and a time fixed,—why truly then the extremity ran another way. '*Parliament would not go at all*, that had been 'the one extreme; *Parliament shall go straightway*, that was now 'the other.' This is very true that I tell you; though it shame me. 'Extremes give rise to their opposite extremes; and are honourable to nobody!' I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that mind; but truly when this was urged, they on their side ran into another extremity.[1] 'And' what was that? Why truly then it was: Seeing a Parliament might not be perpetual, 'yet' that Parliaments might always be sitting. And to that end was there a Bill framed, That Parliaments might always be sitting; that as soon as one Parliament went out of their place, another might leap in.[2] And when we saw this, truly we thought we did but make a change in pretence; and did not remedy the thing!—However, it was pursued with such heat[3] 'in the House,' I dare say there was more progress made in it in a month than 'ever' was with the like business in four; 'so eager were they' to hasten it to an issue, that such a bill[4] might be brought in as would bring the state of this Nation into 'this,' *A continual sitting of Parliaments.* We did think, who are plain men, and I do think it still, That it had been, according to the 'old' foolish proverb, "out of the frying-pan into the fire!" For, looking at the Government [they would then have 'had,' it was 'still a' Commonwealth's Government].[5] [*Not entirely the Ideal of a Government, your Highness thinks?*] Why, we should have had fine work then! We should have had a Council of State, and a Parliament of Four-hundred men, executing arbitrary government [*As the Long Parliament did*] without intermission, except some change of a part of them;[6] one Parliament leaping[7] into the seat of another, just left warm for them;[8] the same day that the one left, the other was to leap in!—Truly I did think, and I do think, however much some are[1] enamoured with that kind of Government—[*Style getting hasty, hot; the Sentence breaks*] —— Why it was no more but this, That Committees of Parliament should take 'all' upon them, and be instead of the Courts of Westminster! Perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that arbitrariness of Committees,[2] where a man can neither come to prove nor defend, nor know his judges; because there are one set[3] of men that judge him today, and another set[3] of men tomorrow! Thus was to have been[4] the Law of England; 'and' thus was to have been[4] the way of judging this Nation. And truly I thought that that was an ill way of judging. For I may say to you with truth, 'in regard' to that, After it pleased God, your poor Army, those poor contemptible men, came up hither,—it did prove so.[5] An outcry here in this place,[6] 'then an outcry there in that,' to see a cause heard, determined and judged.[7] [*The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and committeeings, and futile jargonings, and Babel out-babbled!*] And Committees erected to fetch men from the extremest parts of the Nation to London, to attend Committees 'set' to determine all things. And without any manner of satisfaction. Whether a man's cause be never so right or wrong,[8] he must come,—and he must go back again, as wise as he came. This truly was the case[9] [*Fancy an old Ironside who had stood Dunbar and Worcester, and Marston and Naseby, dancing attendance here!*], and our condition. And truly I must needs say, [take all in that was in the practices 'there,'][10]—[*Better not, your Highness!*]—I am sorry to tell the story of it!—Though there was indeed some necessity of the business. A necessity of some Committees to look to indemnity, 'and such like;' but no necessity of

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[1] The 'Rota *Club*' (see Wood, iv. 1119, 1120, § Harrington) had not started in 1653; but this doctrine, it would seem, was already afloat;—not much patronised by his Highness at any time.

[2] ["And truly the best expedient that we had then was this that I tell you," *both texts.*]

[3] ["that had thought they had returned their lives," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[4] ["invited only by," *MS.*]

[5] ["and that that might be ascertained," *Monarchy Asserted;* "might ascertain," *MS.*]

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[1] ["then another extremity arose," *MS.*]

[2] This arrangement, of a Parliament constantly sitting, his Highness and the company of poor men did by no means consider a good 'issue of the Business.' It leads almost infallibly to 'arbitrariness,' argues his Highness (Speech III., vol. ii., p. 370), leads to &c. &c.—in fact, as in these days of ours is everywhere becoming too apparent, leads to 'Nothing,' to Self-cancelment (like that of the Kilkenny Cats) and peaceable *Zero.* Which in very few epochs of the world's history is the desirable thing! His Highness's logic-arguments, here and in his other Speech, are none of the best; but instincts and inarticulate insights much deeper than logic taught him well that 'a Parliament always sitting' was not the Balm of Gilead we had all been fighting for.

[3] ["and then, when that was pursued with that great heat," *MS.*; "and thereupon that was pursued," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[4] ["Parliament," *MS.*]

[5] [The words in brackets omitted in *MS.*]

[6] ["saving of one company," *both texts.*]

[7] ["stepping," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[8] ["while they left them warm," *both texts.*]

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[1] ["however some are very much," *both texts.*]

[2] ["and arbitrariness would have been in Committees," *MS.*]

[3] ["sort," *ibid.*]

[4] ["this should have been," *both texts.*]

[5] ["it was so," *ibid.*]

[6] [*i.e.* in London.]

[7] ["to see a cause here, determined and judged," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[8] ["whether a man travel never so right or wrong," *ibid.*]

[9] ["cause," *MS.*]

[10] [The words in brackets omitted in *ibid.*]

Committees instead of Courts of Justice! But it was so; and this was the case of the People of England at that time; the Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the *Three* Estates that were before. It was so. 'It had so assumed that authority:' and if any man would have come and said, "What are the rules you "judge by?"—"Why, we have none! But we are supreme, "'we, in Legislature[1] and in Judicature!"—

This was the state of the case. And I thought, and we thought, and I think so still, That this was a pitiful remedy, 'this that they proposed.' [*This of a Perpetual Parliament,* NEW-DARNED, *like Sir John's Perpetual Pair of Stockings:—a bad article in itself, whether new or new-darned, if you make it the exclusive one!*] And it will 'always' be so when and whilst the Legislative is perpetually exercised; when the Legislative and the Executive Power are always the same.—And truly I think the Legislature would be almost as well in the Four Courts of Westminster Hall! And if they could make Laws and judge[2] too, you would have excellent Laws; and the Lawyers would be able to give you excellent counsel! And so it was then. This was our condition, without scruple and doubt; and I shall say no more to it. But the offer was made by us with a true and honest spirit; the desire, the entreaty that we might have a Settlement. And there is our "Settlement;" that is what they propose for a Settlement!—[3]

It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own number or 'of' any else, to choose a certain number of men [*The Puritan Notables; ah yes!*] to settle the Nation. This 'said we,' "is unsettlement, this is confusion!" For give me leave, if any body now have the face to say,—and I would die upon this—[*Sentence catching fire*]—if any man in England have the impudence

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[1] ["legislative" throughout in *MS.*]

[2] ["judges," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] ["But truly it was offered then, truly and honestly, and desired and begged that we might have a settlement, that that now is here, that is there proposed a settlement," *MS.*, and with slight variations, *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[*Ah!*] or the face to say, That the reluctance[1] of the Parliament 'to dissolve themselves' was the fear of their hasty throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and 'of' the Nation, into 'the hands of' a bare Representative of the People,—which was then the business *we* opposed: if any man have that face to say it *now*, that did *then* 'judge it, that last measure of theirs,' or I will say more, ought then to judge it, it had been a confounding of the whole Cause we had fought for,—which 'it' was,—I would look upon that man's face! I would be glad to see such a man![2] I do not say there is any such here: but if any such should come to me, see if I would not look upon him, and tell him he is an hypocrite! I dare say it, and I dare to die for it, 'he is an hypocrite;'—knowing the spirit that hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, They do not like my being Protector. Why do you not?—"Why, because you will exercise arbitrary government."—Why, what would you have me to do? —"Pray turn General again;[3] and we will like you exceeding well!"—[*Inarticulate interjection; snort or "Humph!"*]—I was a child in its swaddling clothes![4] I cannot transgress. By the 'Instrument of' Government, I can do nothing but in 'co'ördination with the Council. They feared, 'these objectors,' arbitrary government by *me* upon that account; but if I turned to be General, then they were not afraid of arbitrary government![1] Such 'things' as these are, such hypocrisies as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man that hath any truth or honesty in him?— —

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[1] ["exceptions," *both texts.*]

[2] A dangerous spectator, your Highness, with that thundery countenance of yours!—His Highness's anger is exceedingly clear; but the cause of it, in this intricate sentence, much more in the distracted coagulum of jargon which the Original here offers, is by no means so clear. On intense inspection, he discovers himself to be (as above) reproaching certain parties who now affect to regret the Long Parliament, which while it existed they had been sufficiently loud in condemning. You say: "They were afraid to fling the whole Cause into the lottery of a general Parliament:"—*They?* while *we* opposed that; and while that was the very thing they at last were recklessly doing! I should like to see the face of a man brazen enough for a story like this!

[3] [So in *MS.* Carlyle printed "Pray turn those gentlemen 'of the Long Parliament' all in again." *Monarchy Asserted* has "pray turn gentlemen all again," where it is easy to see how the misreading occurred. No doubt "generall" was written with a contraction mark for the "er," and this was mistaken for a "t" and read "gent. all." Having lost the true meaning, Carlyle had to alter very much to make sense at all. The *MS.* and *Monarchy Asserted* otherwise agree, except that instead of "if I turned to be general," the latter has "returned to the general."]

[4] So tied up with restrictions in that first Instrument; had not the smallest power to do 'arbitrary government.' ["Swaddling clouts," in *Monarchy Asserted.*]

And truly that is our case:—and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, That they would be pleased to select some Worthy Persons that had loved this Cause, and the liberties of England, and the interests of it: and we told them we would acquiesce, and lie at *their* 'the Worthy Persons'' feet; but 'that' to be thrown into Parliaments that should sit perpetually, though but for three years 'each,' we had experience of that![2] The experience of which may remain to this day, to give satisfaction to honest and sober men!—Why, truly we thought it might satisfy, 'this proposal of ours;' but it did not. And therefore we did think that it was the greatest of dangers, 'thus' to be overwhelmed, and brought under a slavery by our own consent, for Iniquity to become a Law.[3] And there was our ground we acted upon at that time. And truly they had perfected the Bill for the perpetuating of Parliaments to the last Clause; [*Hear!*] and were resolved to pass it as a Bill in Paper, 'not even engrossed on Parchment as the wont was,' rather than comply with any expedient. [*We then entered upon them; bade them with emphasis, Go about their business! That's no lie!*]—If your own experience add anything to you, 'if you 'ever individually had to do with a Long-Parliament Committee,

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[1] [Carlyle altered to "if arbitrary government were restored to be general 'by the reinstatement of the Long Parliament' then they are not afraid of it."]

[2] ["they had had too much experience of it," *MS.*]

[3] 'The Throne of Iniquity, which frameth mischief by a *Law*' (Psalm xciv. 20). A fearful state of matters; shadowed forth by old Prophets as the fearfullest of all; but entirely got rid of in these modern days,—if Dryasdust and the general course of *new* Prophecy may be credited, to whom Law *is* Equity, and the mere want of 'Law,' with its three readings, and tanned pieces of sheepskin written-over in bad English, is Iniquity.—O Dryasdust, thy works in this world are wonderful. Thy notions of this world, thy ideas, what thou namest ideas, perhaps defy all ages, even ages when Witchcraft was believed in,—or when human creatures worshipped Leeks, and considered that the Founder of this Universe was one Apis, a sacred Prize-Ox! I begin to be weary of thee.

'and know its ways,'—in this point, "Whether or no, in cases "civil and criminal, if a Parliament should assume an absolute "power, without any control, to determine the interests of men "in property and liberty; whether or no *this* be desirable in a "Nation?"—if you have any sense, ["*General openness of perception;" not exactly our modern word; but a questionable expression, as his Highness immediately sees: "any sense"*]—as I believe you have,—yea more than I have,—'then' I believe you will take it for a mercy that *that* did not befall England at that time! And that is all I will say of it.

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. [*The Little Parliament.*] And yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was: and though [I and][1] some of my companions—["*May dislike my mentioning the story?"—The Sentence, in its haste, has no time to* END.]—(and truly this is a story that would not be recorded, a story that would not be told, but when good use may be made of it), I say, It was thought that men of our own judgment, that had fought in the Wars, and were all of a piece upon that account;—'it was thought,' "Why "surely these men will hit it, and 'these men' will do 'it' to "the purpose, whatsoever can be desired!" 'And' truly we did think, and I did think so,—the more blame to me.[2] And such a Company of Men were chosen; [*The Little Parliament;—Convention of the Puritan Notables*] and did proceed into action. And truly this was the naked truth, That the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. [*Poor Puritan Notables!*] . . . . .

What the issue of that Meeting would have been 'seemed questionable,' and was feared: upon which the sober men of that Meeting did withdraw; and came and returned their power[3] as far as they could,—they did actually the greater part of them,—

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[1] [These two words omitted in *Monarchy Asserted.* Perhaps the true reading is "and—thought I and some of my companions—."]

[2] ["the more to blame," *MS.*; "the more to blame of," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[3] ["my power," *ibid.*]

into mine own hands; professing and believing that the issue of that Meeting would have been The subversion of the Laws and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the destruction of the Ministry of this Nation; in a word, the confusion of all things. 'Confusion of all things!' and [instead of Order][1] to set up the Judicial Law of Moses, in abrogation of all our administrations to have been administered; the Judicial Law of Moses *pro hic et nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the Text this way or that way!—And if you do not believe that they, 'thereupon sent home,' were sent home by the major part 'of themselves,' who were judicious and sober (and feared the worst upon this account),[2] and with my consent also *a parte post*,—you will believe nothing! [*Somewhat tart.*] For the persons that led in the Meeting were Mr. Feak and his Meeting[3] in Blackfriars. [*We know "Feak," and other foul chimneys on fire, from of old!—As for "Mr. Squib," he sits now with Venner and the Fifth-Monarchy, safe locked in the Tower.*] 'Mr. Feak,' Major-General Harrison, and those that associated with him at one Mr. Squibb's house. And there were all the resolutions taken that were acted in the House 'of Parliament' day by day. And that this was so *de facto*; I know it to be true. And that this must 'naturally' be the product of it, I do but appeal to that Book I told you of the other day ["*Standard set up*,"] That all Magistracy and Ministry is Antichristian, and therefore all these things ought to be abolished. Which we are certain must have been the issue of that Meeting. [*A failure, that poor Convention of the Puritan Notables!*]

So that you have been delivered, if I think aright, from two evils. The *one*, a secular evil, that would have swallowed up all [religious and][1] civil interest, and brought us under the horridest arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world: That we might have had Five or Six hundred "Friends,"[1] with *their* friends 'the Feaks, &c.,' to have had the judgment of all causes, and to have judged 'them' without a rule; thinking that the Power that swallowed up all other 'Lawful' Powers in the Nation hath all the power that ever *they* had, both a Legislative and Judiciary! This (I say) would have swallowed up the Civil [and Religious][2] Interest. And the *other* 'evil'—[*His Highness has already inextricably caudled the two together, and here merely gives them another stir*][2]—merely under a Spiritual Interest, had swallowed up again [in another extreme,—'no stated Ministry being allowed,'][2] all our [Civil and][2] Religious Interest; [and had made][2] all our Ministry, and all the things we were beholding to God for ['of no account!'][2] Truly we think we ought to value *this* Interest above all the interest in the world: but if this latter had not been as surely destroyed as the former, I understand nothing.

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[1] [The words in brackets omitted in *MS*.]

[2] [*Monarchy Asserted* has "learned" instead of "feared," and Carlyle altered to "sober and learned, the minority being the worser part upon this account."]

[3] [Carlyle altered to "assemblage."]

And having told you these two things, 'two Failures in getting Settlement'—truly I must needs say it makes me in love with this Paper; and with all 'the' things in it; and with these additions that I have 'now' to tender to you 'thereto'; and with *Settlement* above all things in the world!—Except 'only' that, where I left you the last time; [*"The Kingship!" Committee of Ninety-nine look alert*]—and for that, I think, we have debated. [*Look dumpish again.*] I have heard your mind, and you have heard mine 'as to that;' I have told you my heart and my judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue. [*His Highness produces the Engrossed Vellum.*]

I think we are not now to consider, what we are in regard to our Footing and that of the Government which called this Parliament. [*No: our First foolish Parliament spent all their time on*

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[1] The name of Quakers already budding in 1653,—now, in 1657, budded and blown.

[2] [It appears to be only the report in *Monarchy Asserted* that has "caudled them up." The words in square brackets are not found in the *MS.* text, and are pretty evidently an interpolation. Without them, the sense is clear.]

that; not you, my wiser Friends.] Our Footing and Government is, till there be an end put to it,—that that hath existence! [*What other definition of it can be given, or need?*] And so I shall say nothing to *it.*[1] If that accomplisheth the end of our Fighting, and all those blessed and good ends that we should aim at; if it do, [I would we might keep it, and remain where we are. If it do not,][2] I would we might have that which is better!—Which truly[3] I come now out of myself to tell you, That as to the substance and body of your Instrument, I do look upon it as having things in it,—if I may speak freely and plainly; I may, and we all may!—I say, the things that are provided for in this Instrument [*Handling the Vellum*] do secure[4] the Liberties of the People of God so as they have never before had them! And he must be a pitiful man that thinks the People of God ever had that Liberty either *de facto* or *de jure;*—that is to say *de jure* from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still,—but asserted by a *jus humanum,* I say, they never had it so as they have it now. And I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of God, and 'for the Liberty' of the Nation. And I say he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt these two Interests! And it is a pitiful fancy, and wild and ignorant[5] to think they are *in*consistent. 'Certainly' they may consist! And—I speak my conscience—I think in this 'Act of' Government, you have made them to consist.

And therefore, I must say, in that, and in other things, you have provided well,—that you have. And because I see the vote[1] of the Parliament gives you leave to speak with me about 'the' particulars (I think the Parliament doth think that any Member they have is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good),—therefore,[2] I having a little surveyed the Instrument, I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account. [*Handles a Paper of his own.*][3] And truly I must needs say and think that, in such a case as this is, in so new a work and so strange a work as this is that is before you, it will not be thought ill of [*Not at all, your Highness,—only get on!*] if I do with a little earnestness press you for some explanations 'in some things. A few explanations' that may help to complete[4] 'the business,' and leave me satisfied—(for it is only handled with *me* 'and for *my* behoof' this transaction is only handled with me at this time, not[5] with you and the Parliament whom you represent):—I say, I would be glad that you might leave me, and all opposers, without excuse; as well as glad[6] that you should settle this Nation to the uttermost good of it;—in all the things I have to offer you. They are not[5] very weighty; they may tend to the completion of the business; and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to you.

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[1] [The *MS.* and, with slight variations, *Monarchy Asserted,* has "what we are on the foot of [the] Government which called this Parliament, which, till there be an end put to it, is that that hath existence; and I shall say nothing to that." Carlyle has confused the sense by changing the phrase. "On the foot of" means "in regard to."]

[2] [The words in brackets are omitted in the *MS.* but probably by accident.]

[3] Ungrammatical, but unalterable. Means 'On which hint.' [Ungrammatical, but not unalterable. The *MS.* has "Why truly," and this no doubt is correct.]

[4] ["have the liberties," *MS.*]

[5] [Carlyle, misled by *Monarchy Asserted,* printed "pitiful fancy, like wisdom and ignorance."]

[First, however, this Editor, with your Highness's leave, will read to the Moderns a certain excerpt or abstract from the Engrossed Vellum itself, which he has obtained sight of,[7] that they also may understand what your Highness will animadvert upon. Let the Moderns pay what attention they can.

'*Article Fourth* of the Petition and Advice is taken up with 'describing who are to be Electors to Parliament, and Eligibles, '—or rather who not; for it is understood that, except the

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[1] [Carlyle printed "rule," adding 'your written order here.' In *Monarchy Asserted* it is root, probably a misprint for "vote."]

[2] ["and upon that account," *both texts.*]

[3] [This paper, with marginal notes in the Protector's own hand, is amongst the *Portland MSS.*, and is printed in the Supplement, No. 130 (2).]

[4] ["contemplate," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[5] [The negative is omitted in *MS.*]

[6] ["as well as I could wish," *MS.*; "as well as that I could wish," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[7] Whitlocke, p. 648 *et seqq.*; *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 129 *et seqq.*

'classes of persons here specified, all who had such a privilege 'by the old Laws are still entitled to vote and to be voted for.

'The Classes excluded from electing or being elected are the 'following:

'1. All who have been concerned in the rebellion of Ireland; 'or who, with or without concern in said Rebellion, are or shall 'become Papists.—All who have advised, abetted or assisted in 'any War against the Parliament since the First of January '1641-2,—unless they have since given signal proofs of repentance, by bearing arms *for* the Parliament,—or in some other '"signal" manner, difficult to define. The defining of which 'has occasioned great debates in Parliament.[1] This excludes all 'the English and other Malignants.—All who have ever been 'engaged in any Plot against the Person of his Highness; or, 'apart from that, have been engaged in any Insurrection in 'England or Wales "since 16th December 1653," beginning of 'the Protectorate.

'2. In Scotland all who have been in arms against the Parlia'ment of England or the Parliament of Scotland before the First 'of April 1648. This excludes the Montrose Party and Royalists 'Proper of Scotland,—except such as have given "signal" &c. 'But then follows this clause in favour of the Hamilton Engagers, 'and the Dunbar and Worcester people, which attracts his High'ness's animadversion in the present Discourse: "Nor any" '(shall elect or be elected) "who *since* the First of April 1648 'have been in arms, or otherwise aided, abetted" &c. (which 'excludes all the Preston, and all the Dunbar and Worcester 'people; with, however, a most *important* exception)—"except 'such as since the First day of March 1651-2 have *lived peace'ably*,"—as they might *all* very well do, having been all smashed 'to powder, six months before, at Worcester Fight, and their '"Chief Malignant," whom they had set up as King, being now 'sent on his travels, somewhat in the style of a King of the 'Gipsies!' His Highness cannot but animadvert on this with some tartness.

With these exceptions, and one 'proviso for Ireland' to be speedily noticed, all Freeholders of Counties, according to the old definition, shall vote; and all Burgesses and Citizens of Towns,—nay, I think, there is in this latter department a tendency towards the *Potwalloper* System; but modified of course by the established custom of each several locality in that respect.

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[1] Burton's *Diary*.

And now let us hear his Highness in regard to Paragraph Second of Article Fourth :]

In the Fourth Article and Second Paragraph, you have something under that head that respects the calling of Members to Parliament 'for Scotland.' You would not exclude those that were under Duke Hamilton, and made that Invasion.[1] Because it hath been said to you, perhaps, that if you should exclude all those, you shall have no Members from Scotland? I hope there be persons of that Nation that will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than to admit of that argument! And I hope it is none: but if it be one, then truly, to meet with the least upon that certainty of the qualifications,[2] you should indeed exclude men of your own country perhaps upon lesser crimes;[3] and hold them off upon stricter characters 'than those given!' It is thought, the qualification there which saith, of their "good testimony," That they are 'to be' men[4] that have given good testimony in their peaceable and quiet living—Why, truly, for divers years, they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an easy possibility to do otherwise; to live unquietly! [*Not since the taming they got at Worcester, your Highness!*] Though perhaps 'at bottom' many of them have been the same men:—though 'certainly too' I know many of them are good men, worthy men.—And therefore whether it be not fit, in that place, to explain somewhat farther,[5] and put some other character[1] upon it, that may 'really' be accounted "a good testimony" of their *being* otherwise minded, and of their *being* 'now' of another judgment? I confess I have not anything here to supply this defect[2] with: but certainly if the description so stand[3] as it 'now' is in the Article,—'those men,' though they be never so indisposed and enemies and remain so, yet if they have "lived peaceably," where they could neither will nor choose 'to live otherwise,' they are to be admitted. I only tell you this, being without any amendment for it; and when I have done, I shall leave it all with yourselves.[4] This is 'for' the Second Paragraph.

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[1] Which met its due at Preston. ["in that invasion," *MS.*]

[2] ["then truly upon that uncertainty of the qualifications," *ibid.*]

[3] [*Monarchy Asserted* has "better crime," which Carlyle altered to "better 'defined' crimes," to make sense of it.]

[4] ["It is thought that that qualification that saith that the testimony that they shall have that they are men," *MS.*; which is even more confused than the version in *Monarchy Asserted* followed (with alterations) by Carlyle. But the meaning of the passage evidently is: "As to the qualification which says they are to be men who have given good testimony by their quiet living, it is thought (considering that for many years they have had no chance of living *unquietly*) that something further should be demanded to show their present conformity to the Government."]

[5] ["else," *both texts.*]

[For the Second Paragraph his Highness is "without any amendment" of his own; offers us nothing to "supply the defect:" indeed it is difficult to supply well, as that Nation stands and has stood. Besides they send but Fifty Members in all, poor creatures; it is no such vital matter! Paragraph Second remains *un*altered.—And now let the Moderns attend for an instant to Paragraph Third:
'*Article Fourth,* Paragraph Third: A proviso as to Ireland, '"that no English or Scotch Protestant in Ireland who before 'the First of March 1649-50" (just about the time his now 'Highness, then Lord General, was quitting Ireland, having 'entirely demolished all chance of opposition there) "have 'borne arms *for* the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise 'given signal testimony" &c. "shall be excluded."' This also to his Highness seems worthy of animadversion.]

In the Third Paragraph of the same Article, whereas it is said, "That all persons in Ireland be made capable[5] to elect or to "be elected who, before the First of March 1649, have borne "arms for the Parliament, or otherwise given testimony of their "good affections and continued faithful *to the "Parliament:"*

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[1] description.
[2] ["to supply it with" (*i.e.*, to take its place), *both texts.*]
[3] ["if it should be so," *ibid.*]
[4] ["I shall offer the whole to you," *ibid.*]
[5] ["uncapable," in *Monarchy Asserted;* otherwise as above. But the *MS.* has "that the persons in Ireland be made uncapable to elect or be elected that before the 1st of March, 1649, have borne arms against the Parliament, having not otherwise given testimony." *Cf.* Supplement, No. 130 (1).]

—and 'yet perhaps many of them' are since revolted 'against us!'—Whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly expressed? it seeming to capacitate all those who have revolted from the Parliament;[1] if they have borne arms for the State before the First of March 1649, it seems to restore them, but if *since* then they have revolted, as many of our English-Irish I doubt have done, why then the question is, Whether those men who have very lately[2] been angry and fled to arms; Whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side should be an exemption to them? This is but tendered to you, for some worthy person here to give an answer unto?

[Very rational and irrefragable. It is accordingly altered: 'Signal testimony of their good affection to the *Commonwealth* '*or your Highness, and continued*' *&c.*—And now let us look at Paragraph Fifth; concerning the last item of which his Highness has a word to say:

'*Article Fourth,* Paragraph Fifth. All who are atheistical, 'blasphemous, "married to Popish wives," who train or shall 'train any child to be Popish, or consent that a son or daughter 'of theirs shall marry a Papist;—who are scoffers of religion, or 'can be proved to have scoffed any one for being religious; who 'deny the Scriptures to be God's Word; who deny Sacraments, 'Ministry or Magistracy to be ordinances of God (Harrison's 'set); who are Sabbath-breakers, swearers, haunters of taverns 'or alehouses;—in short demonstrably unchristian men. All 'who are Public Preachers too.' Concerning this latter clause his Highness has a remark to make.

'Following in the rear of which, in the same Fifth Paragraph, 'is a new Item which still more deserves consideration. For 'securing the "Freedom of Parliament" as well as its Purity, 'there are to be Forty-one Commissioners appointed "by Act of 'Parliament with your Highness's consent," who are to examine 'and certify whether the Persons returned by these rules are, 'after all, qualified to sit.'—So that it is not to be by the Council of State henceforth, and by "Nathaniel Tayler, Clerk of the

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[1] The Ormond Royalists almost all;—Malignant enough many of them.
[2] in late years.

Commonwealth in Chancery," with his *Certificate* in the Lobby, that Honourable Gentlemen are to be turned back at the door of the House, and sent to redact *Protests*, as in the case of this present Parliament! Forty-one Commissioners are now to do it. His Highness on this also will have a word to say.]

In the Fifth Paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated Public Preachers from sitting in Parliament. And truly I think your intention is 'of' such 'only' as have Pastoral Function; such as are actually and really Ministers. For I must say to you, in the behalf of our Army,—in the next place to their fighting, *they* have been very good Preachers: and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to preach to their troops, companies and regiments:—which I think hath been one of the best blessings upon them to the carrying-on of the great Work. I think you do not mean so 'that they should be excluded:' but I tender it to you that, if you think fit, there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, that have been a little guilty of that, who would be loath to be excluded from sitting in Parliament 'on account of it!' [*" I myself have been known, on occasion, to exhort my troops "with Bible texts and considerations; to 'preach,' if you like to call "it so! What has my whole Life been but a 'Sermon' of some "emphasis; preached with tongue and sword, with head and heart "and right hand, and soul and body and breeches-pocket,—not without "results, one would venture to hope!"—This Clause the Committee, expressly or tacitly, will modify as desired.*]

In the same Paragraph, there is care taken for the nominating 'of' Commissioners to *try* the Members which are chosen to sit in Parliament. And truly those Commissioners are uncertain Persons; and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will be always good men;—but if they should be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men! Besides we think, truly,—if you will give us leave to help—as to the freedom of Parliament, it 'of the Commissioners' will be something that will go harshly down rather than otherwise! Very many reasons might be given; but I do but[1] tender it to you. I think, if there be *no* Commissioners, it would be never a whit the worse:—but if you make qualifications 'for Membership, and' if any man will presume to sit without those qualifications, you may deal with them. A man without qualifications, sitting there, is as if he had not been chosen; and if he sit without being *chosen*, [and so without a qualification],[2]—I am sure the old custom was to send him to the Tower, [*That will settle him!*] to imprison such a one! If any man sit there that hath not right to sit there,—if any stranger come in upon a pretended title of *election*, then perhaps it is[3] a different case,—'but' if any sit there upon pretence of a *qualification* upon him, you may send *him* to prison without any more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, it is a parliamentary business:—I do but hint it to you. I believe, If any man had sat in former Parliaments that had not, 'for instance,' taken the oaths 'that were' prescribed, it would have been fault enough 'in him.' I believe something of that kind, 'instead of your Forty-one Commissioners,' would be equivalent to any other way, if not better.

[The Honourable House does not want any more concern with Nathaniel Tayler and his *Certificates*. This Paragraph remains unaltered. Forty-one Commissioners, Fifteen a quorum; future Parliaments to name a future set when they like: the Examinations as to Members are to be by oath of informer in writing, with copies left &c., and rigorous enough formalities.—Let us now glance at Article Fifth:

'*Article Fifth* relates to the "Other House;" a new House of 'Lords we are getting up. Not more than Seventy of them, 'not fewer than Forty: they are to be nominated by your 'Highness and approved by this House: all classes excluded 'by the preceding Article from our body are of course excluded 'from theirs.' His Highness has a remark to make on this also.]

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[1] ["not," *MS.*]

[2] [The words in brackets omitted in *ibid.*]

[3] ["was," *both texts.* Perhaps "were" is the true reading.]

In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article [*Yes*], which concerns the Nomination of the Other House,—it is in the beginning of that Article, That the House is to be nominated as you ‘there’ design it,[1] and the approbation is to be from This House,—I would say, from the Parliament. Is it not so?[2] But then now, if any shall be subsequently named, after the Other House[3] *is sat*, upon any accidental remove or death,—you do not say ‘How.’ Though it seems to refer to the same ‘rule’ that the first ‘original’ election[4] doth; yet it doth not so clearly intimate this,[5] That the nomination shall be, where it was, in the Chief Officer,[6] and the approbation in the other House.—If I do not express it clearly I hope you will pardon me:[7] but I think that is the aim of it; ‘and’ it is not clearly expressed there—(as I think); you will be able to judge whether it be or not.

[Article Fifth ruled as his Highness wishes. And now take Article Seventh:

‘*Article Seventh* promises, but does not say how, that there ‘shall be a yearly Revenue of 1,300,000*l.*; one million for Navy ‘and Army, 300,000*l.* for the support of the Government. No ‘part of it by a Land-tax. Other temporary supplies to be ‘granted by the Commons in Parliament,—and neither this ‘Revenue or any other charge whatever to be laid upon the ‘subject except according to the Parliament’s direction and ‘sanction.’ Such yearly Revenue the Parliament promises in this Petition and Advice, but does not specify in what way it shall be raised: which omission also his Highness fails not to comment on.]

In the Seventh Article, that which concerns the Revenue, that is, the Revenue which you have appointed to the Government;

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[1] ‘as you there design it;’ polite for ‘by me.’

[2] [“It is so,” *Monarchy Asserted.* Carlyle printed “it stands so.”]

[3] [“after this House,” *both texts*, but meaning as above.]

[4] [Carlyle printed “selection,” but both texts have as above.]

[5] [“yet it doth not refer clearly to this,” *MS.*]

[6] Cannot say ‘me.’

[7] [So in *MS.* Carlyle printed “and the approbation of the ‘Other House’—If I do express clearly what you—Pardon me”; trying to make sense of the confused text of *Monarchy Asserted.* The “other House” here is the Commons.]

you have distributed Three-hundred-thousand pounds of it to the Maintenance of the Civil Authority, 'and' One-million of it[1] to be distributed to the maintenance of your Forces by Sea and Land:—you have indeed said it in your Instrument, 'that there shall be such a Revenue,' and we cannot doubt of it: but yet you have not made it certain; nor yet those temporary supplies which are intended for the peace and safety of the Nations. It is desired, That you will take it into your thoughts, and make both these *certain*, both as to the sum and 'to the' time that those supplies shall be continued. [*Let us know what ground we stand on.*] And truly I hope I do not curry favour with you: but it is desired, and I may very reasonably desire 'it,' That these moneys, whatever they are;—that they may not, if God shall bring me to any interest in this business,[2] which lieth in His own power;—that these moneys, 'I say,' may *not* be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council, seeing you have in your Instrument made a coördination in general terms 'of Council and Chief Magistrate, but I could wish' that this might be a reserved[3] thing, That the moneys might not be distributed 'except by authority of both.' It will be a safety to whomsoever is your Supreme Magistrate, as well as 'a' security to the Public, That the moneys might be issued out by the advice of the Council, and that the Treasurers that receive the money may be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves; —'that' every new Parliament, the Treasurer may be accountable to the Parliament for the disposing of the Treasure.

['*Article Ninth:* Judges, Principal Officers of State, Commanders-in-chief by Sea or Land, all chief Officers civil and 'military, "are to be approved-of by both Houses of Parliament."']

And there is mention made of the Judges in the Ninth Article.

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[1] [written 100,000 by mistake in *MS.*]

[2] If I live, and continue to govern.

[3] [Altered by Carlyle to "specified."]

It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen by the approbation of the Parliament. 'But now' if there be no Parliament sitting, if there be never so great a loss of Judges, it cannot be supplied. And whether you do not intend that, in the intervals of Parliament, it should be by the choice—[*Omit "of the Chief Magistrate," or politely mumble it into indistinctness*],—with the consent of the Council;[1] to be *afterwards* approved by Parliament?

[Certainly, your Highness; reason so requires it. Be it tacitly so ruled.—And now for Article Twelfth:

'*Article Twelfth* (Let us still call it Article *Twelfth,* though in 'the ultimate Redaction it has come to be marked *Thirteenth*):—'Classes of persons incapable of holding any office. Same, I 'think, as those excluded from elections,—only there is no 'penalty annexed. His Highness makes some remarks upon 'this, under the Title of "Article Twelfth;"—a new article 'introduced for securing Purchasers of Church Lands, which is 'now Article Twelfth,[2] has probably pushed this into the Thirteenth place.][3]

The Thirteenth[4] Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, that are put into places of Public Office and Trust. [*Treats all of* DISqualifications, *your Highness; which, however, comes to the same thing.*] Now if men shall step into Public Places and Trust who are not so qualified, 'I do not see but hereby still' they may execute them.[5] And an Office[6] of Trust is a very large word; it goeth almost to a Constable, if not altogether;—it goeth far. Now if any shall come-'in' that are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rules:—and whether you will not think in this case that if any shall take upon them an Office of Trust, there shall not some *Penalty* be put upon him,[1] where he is excepted by the general rule? Whether you will not think it fit in that respect to deter men from accepting of Offices and Places of Trust, contrary to that Article?

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[1] ["intend that it should be with the consent of the Council in the intervals of Parliament," *MS.*]

[2] Whitlocke, p. 659.

[3] [It *is* 13 in the *MS.*, in *Monarchy Asserted* and in the Protector's own notes. The 12 is a mistake of Carlyle's.]

[4] [Printed, of course, "Twelfth" by Carlyle.]

[5] [The *MS.* has "they may not execute it," which (apart from Carlyle's interpolation) seems better sense; but perhaps the Protector's argument is, that they might execute the office before they were found out, and that the penalty is to be not only for taking but for executing the office unlawfully.]

[6] [Carlyle altered to "Officer."]

[Nothing done in this. The "Penalty," vague in outline, but all the more terrible on that account, can be sued-for by any complainant in Westminster Hall.

'*Article Thirteenth* [14th] suddenly provides that your Highness 'will be pleased to consent that "Nothing in this Petition and 'Advice, or the assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to '—the dissolving of this present Parliament!"'—"Oh, no!" answers his Highness in a kind of bantering way; "not in the least!"]

The next 'Article' is fetched in, I may say, in some respects, by head and shoulders in'to' your Instrument! Yet in some respects it hath 'an' affinity 'with the rest, too;'[2] and I may say, I think 'it' is within your 'general' scope[3] upon this account;—'yes,' I am sure of it: There is a mention 'made' in the last part of your Instrument [*Looking in the Paper; Article Eighteenth*] of your purpose to do many good things:—I am confident, *not* like the gentleman that made his last will, and set down a great number of the names of men that should receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end! [*"You cannot do these 'many good things' if I dissolve you! That "will be a Will, with many beneficiary legatees, and no sum mentioned "at the end!" His Highness wears a pleasant bantering look;—to which the countenances of the others, even Bulstrode's leaden countenance, respond by a kind of smile.*]

I am confident you are resolved to deal effectually in these things[4] at the latter end; and I should wrong my own conscience if I should think otherwise. I hope you *will* think sincerely, as before God, "That the Laws must be regulated!"[1] I hope you will. We have been often talking of them:—and I remember well, in the old Parliament [*Whitlocke and Glynn look intelligence*], that we were three months, and could not get over the word "Incumbrances" [*Hum-m-m!*]: and then we thought there was little hope of regulating the Laws when there was such a difficulty as 'to' that. But surely the Laws need 'to' be regulated! And I must needs say, I think it is a sacrifice acceptable to God, upon many accounts. And I am persuaded it is one thing that God looks for, and would have. [*Alas, your Highness!*]—I confess, if any man should ask me, "Why, how would you have it done?" I confess I do not know How. But I think verily, at the least, the Delays in Suits, and the Excessiveness of Fees, and the Costliness of Suits, and those various things that I do not know what names they bear—I have heard talk of "Demurrers" and such-like things, which I scarce know —[*Sentence is wrecked!*]—But I say certainly that The people are greatly suffering in this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole business of settlement (whatever the issue of it shall be), 'if it' comes, as I am persuaded it doth, as a thing that would please God;—'then,' by a sacrifice 'to God' in 'it,' or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God,[2] I am persuaded that *this* will be one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honourable and effectual in it. [*"Reforming of the law!" Alas, your Highness!*]—

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[1] ["that a penalty shall be put upon them," *both texts.*]
[2] ["it hath affinity with it," *ibid.*]
[3] 'order' in *orig.* [meaning in Somers; "order" also in *MS.*]
[4] ["in the thing," *both texts.*]

'Another thing' that—truly I say that is not in your Instrument—[*Nothing said of it there, which partly embarrasses his Highness; who is now getting into a small Digression*]!—is somewhat that relates to the Reformation of Manners,—you will pardon me!—My Fellow Soldiers 'the Major-Generals,' that were raised-up on that just occasion of the Insurrection, not only to secure the Peace of the Nation, but to see that persons that were least likely to help-on peace or 'to' continue it, but rather to break it—[*"These Major-Generals, I say, did look after the restraining "of such persons; suppressed their horse-racings, cock-fightings, sinful roysterings; took some charge of* 'REFORMATION OF MANNERS,' *they:"—but his Highness is off elsewhither, excited by this 'tickle subject,' and the Sentence has evaporated*]—dissolute and loose persons that can go up and down from house to house,—and they are Gentlemen's sons that have nothing to live upon, and cannot be supposed to live[1] to the profit of the Commonwealth: these I think had a good course taken with them. [*Ordered to fly-away their game-cocks, unmuzzle their bear-baitings; fall to some regular livelihood, some fixed habitat, if they could,—and, on the whole, to duck low, keep remarkably quiet, and give no rational man any trouble with them which could be avoided!*] And I think that which was done to them was honourably and honestly and profitably done.

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[1] One of their concluding promises (Article Eighteenth).

[2] [The sense appears to be rather clearer without the interpolations: "by a sacrifice *in*, or rather as an expression *of*, our thankfulness."]

And, for my own part, I must needs say, It[2] showed the dissoluteness that was then in the Nation;—as indeed it springs most from that Party of the Cavaliers! Should that Party run on, and no care be taken to reform the Nation; to prevent abuses that will not perhaps fall under *this* head alone![3] [*Not under Reformation of* MANNERS *alone: what will the consequence be?*]

We send[4] our children into France before they know God or Good Manners;[5] and 'they' return with all the licentiousness of that Nation. Neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order when they come home! Indeed this makes the Nation not only to commit those abominable things among us, most inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things;—and as the Apostle saith, 'Not only to do wickedness themselves, but 'to' take pleasure in them that do so.'

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[1] [*Monarchy Asserted* has "cannot be supplied to live," which Carlyle expanded into "cannot be supplied with means of living."]

[2] The course taken with them, the quantity of coercion they needed, and of complaint made thereupon, are all loosely included in this "It."

[3] ["under this consideration," *both texts.*]

[4] ["We can send," *ibid.*]

[5] Morals.

And truly, if something be not done in this kind, 'in the way of reforming public morals,' without sparing any condition of men, without sparing men's sons, though they be Noblemen's sons—! [*Sentence breaks down*] —Let them be who they will, if debauched,[1] it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and reformation! And truly I must needs say it, I would as much bless God to see something done, as to that, heartily, upon this account, not only 'as' to those persons mentioned, but to all the Nation; that some course might be taken for Reformation; that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as that is! And truly, to do it heartily, and nobly and worthily! The Nobility of this Nation, 'they' especially, and the Gentry, will have cause to bless you. And likewise that some care might be taken that those good Laws already made for the punishment of vice may be effectually put in execution.

This I must needs say for our Major-Generals who did that service;[2] I think it was excellent good service;[3]—I profess I do! [*Yes; though there were great outcries about it.*] And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you 'to consider,'[4] that though we may have good Laws against the common Country disorders that are everywhere, yet Who is to execute them 'now, the Major-Generals being off?' Really a Justice of the Peace,—he shall by the most be wondered at as an owl,[4] if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things! [*Cannot do it; not he.*] And therefore I hope I may represent that to you as a thing worthy of your consideration, that something be found out to repress such things. I am persuaded you would glorify God in it as much as by any one thing you can do. And so I think you will pardon me.

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[1] [" deboist," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] [" that do you service," *both texts.*]

[3] [Carlyle altered to " was an excellent good thing."]

[4-4] [" That when you have seen that—though you have good laws against the common country disorders that are everywhere—who is there to execute them; really a Justice of the Peace shall from (*i.e.*, by) the most be wondered at as an owl," *both texts.*]

[His Highness looks to the Paper again, after this Digression. *Article Fifteenth*[1] in his Highness's copy of the Paper as we understand, must have provided, 'That no part of the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament': but his Highness having thus remonstrated against it, the Article is suppressed, expunged; and we only gather by this passage that such a thing had ever been.]

I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing! There is a desire that "the Public Revenue be not alienated but by the consent of Parliament." I doubt "Public Revenue" is like "*Custodes Libertatis Angliæ;*" that is, a notion only; and not to be *found* that I know of! [*It is all alienated; Crown Lands &c. are all gone, long ago. A beautiful dream of our youth, as the "Keepers of the* Liberty *of England" were—a thing you could nowhere lay hands on, that I know of!*] But if there be any, and 'if' God bless us in our Settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing, and[2] whether you will subject this to any alienation without the consent of Parliament [is that which is offered to you]

[We withdraw the question altogether, your Highness: when once the chickens are *hatched*, we will speak of selling them!—Let us now read Article Sixteenth:

'*Article Sixteenth*[3] in his Highness's copy of the Paper, 'provides that no Act or Ordinance already extant, which is not 'contrary to this Petition and Advice, shall be in the least made 'void hereby.'—His Highness, as we shall see, considers this as too indefinite, too indistinct; a somewhat vague foundation for Church-Land Estates (for example), which menpurchased with money, but hold only in virtue of Writs and Ordinances issued by the Long Parliament.—A new Article is accordingly added, in our Perfect-copy; specifying, at due breadth, with some hundreds of Law-vocables, that all is and shall be safe, according to the common sense of mankind, in that particular.]

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[1] [Sixteenth.]

[2] [Carlyle here inserted "the point is," and left out the words in square brackets.]

[3] [Cromwell is still speaking of the same article, which *is* the 16th.]

Truly this thing that I have 'now' further to offer you,—it is the last in this Paper; it is the thing mentioned in the Sixteenth Article: That you would have those Acts and Ordinances that have been made since the late Troubles, 'and' during the time of them, 'kept unabrogated;' that they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice,[1]—remain in such force and manner as if this Advice had not been given. Why, that that is doubted is, Whether or no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled condition?[2] Because it is but an implication 'that you here make;' it is not determined, but you do pass-by the thing, without such a foundation[3] as will keep those people, which are now in possession of Estates upon this account, that their titles may be 'not' questioned and shaken,—if that 'matter' be not explained. And truly I do believe you intend very fully in 'regard to' this business 'of keeping men safe who have purchased on that footing.' If the words already 'used' do not suffice—That I submit to your own advisement.

But there is in this a'nother' very great consideration. There have been, since the 'present' Government 'began,' several Acts and Ordinances, that have been made by the exercise of that Legislative Power that was exercised since we undertook this Government: [*Very cumbrous phraseology, your Highness; for indeed the subject is somewhat cumbrous. Questionable, to some, whether one* CAN *make Acts and Ordinances by a mere Council and Protector!*] And I think your Instrument speaks a little more *faintly* 'as' to these, and dubiously, than to the other! And truly, I will not make an apology for anything: but surely two persons, two sorts of men, 'very extensive sorts,' will be nearly[4] concerned upon this account: that is They who exercised that authority, and they who were objects of its exercise![5] It dissettles them wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions in this business. It will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been done 'by us' upon a true ground of necessity, in so far as the same hath saved this Nation from running into total arbitrariness. 'Nay, if not,' why subject the Nation to a sort of men who perhaps would do so?[1] We think we have in that thing deserved well of the State. [*Do not "dissettle" his Highness! He has, "in that thing," of assuming the Government and passing what Ordinances &c. were indispensable, "deserved well."—Committee of Ninety-nine agree to what is reasonable.*]

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[1] *Petition* and Advice; but we politely suppress the former part of the name.

[2] It was long debated; see Burton.

[3] [" determination," *MS.*]

[4] [" two sorts of them will be merely," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[5] [" They who are exercised and the persons that are the object of that exercise," *both texts.* It should probably read " they who are exercisers" or "exercising."]

If any man will ask me, "But ah, Sir, what have you done *since?*"—Why, ah,—as I will confess[2] my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking the things as they 'then' were, I think we did the Commonwealth service! and we have in that made great settlements,—that we have. We have settled almost the whole affairs of Ireland; the rights and interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and Adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry; [*"Triers" diligent here, "Expurgators" diligent everywhere; much good work completed*]—and I could wish that that be not to some the gravamen,[3] I wish it be not! But I must needs say it, If I have anything to rejoice 'in' before the Lord in this world, as having done any good or service—I can say it from my heart, and I know I say the truth, that it hath been [this]. Let any man say what he will to the contrary, he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion in it, and 'my own' conscience and heart; and I dare bear my testimony to it:—There hath not been such a service to England since the Christian Religion was professed[1] in England! I dare be bold to say it; however, here and there, there may have been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them—[*"are unexceptionable, nay exemplary as Triers and as Expurgators:" but his Highness, blazing up at touch of this tender topic, wants to utter three or four things at once, and his "elements of rhetoric" fly into the* ELEMENTAL *state! We perceive he has got much blame for his Two Church Commissions; and feels that he has deserved far the reverse.*]—They will tell 'you,' it is beside their instructions, 'if 'they have fallen into passion and mistakes, if they have meddled 'with civil matters, in their operations as Triers!' And we did adopt the thing upon that account; we did not trust upon doing what we did *virtute Instituti*, as 'if these Triers were' *jure divino*, but as a civil good. But—[*Checks himself*]—So we end in this.[2] We 'knew not and' know not better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it to goodness, than by putting such men to be Triers. Men of known integrity and piety; orthodox men and faithful. We know not how better to answer our duty to God and the Nation and the People of God, in that respect, than in doing what we did.

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[1] Why subject the Nation to *us*, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, as your non-approval of us seems to insinuate? [" As far as it hath saved the nation from running into total arbitrariness or subjected it ('or subjection' Cromwell perhaps said) to any sort of men that would perhaps have lorded it too much over their brethren," *MS.* Carlyle's view, that Cromwell is speaking of his own government, can hardly be correct.]

[2] [" Why, I will confess," *MS.*]

[3] [Carlyle printed " be not an aggravation of our fault," appending the following note: " be not to secure the grave men " (Scott's *Somers*, p. 399) is unadulterated nonsense: for *grave men* read *gravamen*, and we have dubiously a sense as above; " an aggravation of our fault with such objectors." The *MS.* version, as given above, is clear enough.]

And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us; God having had exceeding glory by it,—in the generality of it, I am confident, forty-fold! For as heretofore the men that have been admitted into the Ministry—in times of Episcopacy—alas what pitiful Certificates served to make a man a Minister! [*Forty-fold better now.*] If any man could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be admitted;—it was as if he spake Welsh; which I think in those days went for Hebrew with a great many!

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[1] ["perfect," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["They will tell you it is the Institution, and we did take it up upon that account, and we did not think to do that which we did *virtute instituti*, as *jure divino*, but as a civil good; so we did in this thing," *MS. Monarchy Asserted* has "besides the instructions" instead of "the institution," and "trust upon doing" instead of "think to do"; and Carlyle has had to go far afield to make sense of what are pretty evidently mistakes.]

[*Satirical. "They studied Pan, Bacchus, and the Longs and Shorts, "rather than their Hebrew Bible, and the Truths of the Living Jehovah!"*] But certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve the turn; and a man was admitted upon such an account [*As this of mere Latin and Greek, with a suspicion of Welsh-Hebrew*]; —ay, and upon a less.—I am sure the admission granted[1] to such places *since* hath been under this character as the rule: That they must not admit a man unless they be able to discern some'thing' of the Grace of God in him. [*Really it is the grand primary essential, your Highness. Without which, Pan, Bacchus, Welsh-Hebrew, nay Hebrew itself, must go for nothing,—nay for less, if we consider well. In some points of view, it is horrible!*] 'Grace of God;' which was to be so inquired for[2] as it was not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of Charity. Such and such a man,[3] of whose good life and conversation they could have very good testimony from four or five of the neighbour Ministers who knew him,—nor would they admit him unless he could give a very good testimony of the Grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak my conscience in it,[4]—though a great many are angry at it ['nay if' all are angry at it],[5]—for how shall you please everybody?

Then say some, None must be admitted except, perhaps, he will be baptised 'again.' This is their opinion [*Anabaptists.*] They will not admit a man into a Congregation except he be so, much less to be a Minister.[6] The Presbyterian 'again,' he will not admit him except he will be ordained. Generally *they* will not go to the Independents:—truly I think, if I may not be thought partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgment, it is there. [*With the Independents: that is your Highness's opinion.*] Here are Three sorts of Godly Men that you are to take care for; and that you have provided for in your Settlement. And how could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians without, by possibility, excluding all those Anabaptists, all those Independents![1] And 'so' now you[2] have put it into that way, That if a man be of any of those 'three' judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. [*Very good, your Highness!*] This hath been our care and work; by some Ordinances of ours, both laying the foundations of it, and many hundreds of Ministers being 'admitted' in upon it. And if this be a time of Settlement, then I hope it is not a time of shaking;—and therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business 'too: and' that you will neither shake the Persons [*Us*] that have been poorly instrumental to call you to this opportunity of settling this Nation, and 'of' doing good to it; nor shake those honest men's interests that have been thus settled [considering so much good hath been wrought by them].[3] And so I have done with the offers to you,—'with these my suggestions to you.'—

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[1] ["admission that hath been to those places," *both texts.*]

[2] ["which was so put too," *ibid.*]

[3] ["But such a man," *ibid.*]

[4] "I do approve it" is modestly left out.

[5] [The words in brackets are not in the *MS.*]

[6] [Carlyle changed this into "They will not admit a man into a congregation to be a minister, except he commence by being so much *less*," but this is not sense, and both texts have as above.]

[His Highness looks now on the Paper again; looks at Article Seventh there, 'That the Revenue shall be 1,300,000*l.*;' and also at a Note[4] by himself of the Current Expenses;—much wondering at the contrast of the two; not having Arithmetic enough to reconcile them!]

But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding; for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in the Law! There are great sums; it is well if I can count them to you. [*Looking on his Note.*] The present charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land (including the government) will be 2,426,989*l.* The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland and Ireland, is about 1,900,000*l.*; I think this was reckoned at the most, as now the Revenue stands. Why, now, towards this you settle, by this your Instrument, 1,300,000*l.*[1] for the Government; and out of that[2] to maintain the Forces by Sea and Land, and this without Land-tax, I think: and this is short of the Revenue which now may be raised by the present 'Act of' Government 600,000*l.*! [*A grave discrepancy!*] Because, you see, the present Government has[3] 1,900,000*l.*; and the whole sum which now may be raised comes short of the present charge 'by' 542,689*l.*,—[*So his Highness says; but, by the above data, must be mistaken or misreported: 526,989l. is what "Arithmetic" gives.*[4]] And although an end should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a necessity, for the preservation of the peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in England, Scotland and Ireland; and also a considerable Fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds, and bring the Nation to some better consistency. So that, considering the Pay of the Army, coming to upwards of 1,100,000*l.* *per annum*,[5] and the 'Support of the' Government,—300,000*l.*, it will be necessary that for some convenient time—seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a wound healed before it be,—that there should be raised, over and above the 1,300,000*l.*, the sum of 600,000*l.*, *per annum*; which makes up the sum of 1,900,000*l.* And that likewise the Parliament declare, How far they will carry on the Spanish War, and for what time; and what farther sum they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what time. [*Explicit, and undeniable!*] And if these things be not ascertained,—as one says "Money is the Cause,"

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[1] ["And how could you now put it to the Presbyterian, but you must have done it with a possibility of exclusion of all those of Anabaptism and of the Independents," *MS.*, and with slight variations, *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] ["we," *MS.*]

[3] [Carlyle left out the words in brackets, but they are in *both texts.*]

[4] [The original of this note, which was handed in by the Protector together with the paper mentioned on p. 102 above, is also at Welbeck. It is printed by Gray in his *Examination of Neal's History of the Puritans*, but is given in the Supplement here (No. 130 (2)) for convenience of reference. The point of Oliver's argument is that with a present revenue of 1,900,000*l.*, they "engage to settle but 1,300,000*l.*"]

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[1] ["*but* 1,300,000*l.*" in Oliver's note.]

[2] ["upon that account," *both texts.*]

[3] ["is," *ibid.*]

[4] [Perhaps Thurloe was the sinner. The amount is the same in the Note.]

[5] [The Note here has "allowing for the Fleet 500,000*l.*" This item (which has evidently been missed in the Report of the speech), with the other two, brings the total to the required "sum of 1,900,000*l.*"]

'and' certainly whatever the Cause is, if the Money be wanting, the business will fall to the ground, and all our labour will be lost. And therefore I hope you will have an especial care of this particular![1]—[*Most practical paragraph.*]

And having received expressions from you which we may believe, we need not offer these things to you; 'we need not doubt' but these things will be cared for.[2] And these things have all of them 'already in Parliament' been made overture of to you; and are before you:—and so hath likewise the consideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent.

And so I have done with what I have to offer you,—I think truly, I have, on my part; [*"Nothing of the Kingship, your Highness?" Committee of Ninety-nine looks expectant*]—until I shall understand wherein it is in me to do further; and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little further;—we have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things that were the subject-matter of debate and consideration;—and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther of your thoughts in these things, *then* I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself, [*Throws no additional light on the Kingship at all!*] as God shall put in my mind.[3] And I speak not this to evade; but I speak it in the fear and reverence of God. 'And' I say, plainly and clearly,[4]—when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them,—I do not say that as a *condition* to anything—I shall be very ready freely and honestly and plainly to discharge myself of what, in the whole 'and' upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, as God shall set me free to answer you in.*

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[1] [" a care of our undertakings," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

[2] [" And indeed (having received such large expressions from you), we may believe we need but offer these things to you; that these things will be cared for," *MS.*]

[3] [" as God shall enable me," *ibid.*]

[4] [" And I shall, plainly and clearly, I say," *Monarchy Asserted.*]

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 389-400. From *Monarchy Asserted.* [And *Add. MS.* 6125, pp. 193-226.]

Exeunt the Ninety-nine, much disappointed; the Moderns too look very weary. Courage, my friends, I now see land!—

This Speech forms by far the ugliest job of *buckwashing* (as Voltaire calls it) that his Highness has yet given us. As printed in the last edition of *Somers,* it is perhaps the most unadulterated piece of coagulated nonsense that was ever put into types by human kind. Yet, in order to educe some sense out of it as above, singularly few alterations, except in the punctuation, have been required; no change that we could detect has been made in the style of dialect, which is physiognomic and ought to be preserved; in the meaning, as before, all change was rigorously forbidden. In only one or two places, duly indicated, did his Highness's sense, on earnest repeated reading, continue dubious. And now the horrid buck-basket is reduced in some measure to clean linen or huckabuck: thanks be to Heaven!—

For the next ten days there is nothing heard from his Highness; much as must have been *thought* by him in that space. The Parliament is occupied incessantly considering how it may as far as possible fulfil the suggestions offered in this Speech of his Highness; assiduously perfecting and new-polishing the Petition and Advice according to the same. Getting Bills ready for 'Reformation of Manners,'—with an eye on the 'idle fellows about Piccadilly,' who go bowling and gambling, with much tippling too, about 'Piccadilly House' and its green spaces.[1] Scheming out how the Revenue can be raised:—'Land-tax,' alas, in spite of former protest on that subject; 'tax on new buildings' (Lincoln's Inn Fields for one place), which gives the public some trouble afterwards. Doing somewhat also in regard to 'Triers for the Ministry;' to 'Penalties' for taking Office when disqualified by Law; and very much debating and scrupling as to what Acts and Ordinances (of his Highness and Council) are to be confirmed.

Finally, however, on Friday, 1st of May, the Petition and Advice is again all ready; and the Committee of Ninety-nine wait upon his Highness with it,[2]—who answers briefly, 'speaking very low,' That the things are weighty, and will require meditation; that he cannot just at present say On what day he will meet them to give his final answer, but will so soon as possible appoint a day.

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[1] Dryasdust knows a little piece of Archæology: How 'piccadillies' (*quasi* Spanish *peccadillos* or *little-sins*, a kind of notched linen-tippet) used to be sold in a certain shop there; whence &c. &c.

[2] Burton, ii. 101.

So that the Kingship remains yet a great mystery! 'By the generality' it is understood that he will accept it.[1] But to the generality, and to us, the interior consultations and slow-formed resolutions of his Highness remain and must remain entirely obscure. We can well believe with Ludlow, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, who is incorrect as to various details, That in general a portion of the Army were found averse to the Title; a more considerable portion than the Title was worth. Whereupon, 'for the present,' as Bulstrode indicates, 'his Highness did decide to'—in fact speak as follows:—

SPEECH XIV

Banqueting-House, Whitehall, Friday forenoon, 8th May 1657, the Parliament in a body once more attends his Highness; receives at length a final Answer as to this immense matter of the Kingship. Which the reader shall now hear, and so have done with it.

The Whitlocke Committee of Ninety-nine had, by appointment, waited on his Highness yesterday, Thursday May 7th; gave him 'a Paper,'—some farther last-touches added to their ultimate painfully revised edition of the Petition and Advice, wherein all his Highness's suggestions are now, as much as possible, fulfilled; —and were in hopes to get some intimation of his Highness's final Answer then. Highness, "sorry to have kept them so long," requested they would come back next morning. Next morning, Friday morning: "We have been there; his Highness will see you all in the Banqueting-House even now."[1] Let us shoulder our Mace, then, and go.—'Petition of certain Officers,' that Petition which Ludlow[2] in a vague erroneous manner represents to have been the turning-point of the business, is just 'at the door:' we receive it, leave it on the table, and go. And now hear his Highness.[3]

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[1] [The Protector's intimate friends seem to have thought that he would take the title, for Sir Francis Russell, writing to his son-in-law, Henry Cromwell, on April 27, says, "My Lord, I do in this (I think) desire to take leave of your Lordship, for my next is likely to be to the Duke of York. Your father begins to come out of the clouds and it appears to us that he will take the kingly power upon him. That great noise which was made about this business not long since, is almost over, and I cannot think there will be the least combustion about it. This day I have had some discourse with your father about this great business. He is very cheerful and his troubled thoughts seem to be over. . . . I was told the other day, by Colonel Pride, that I was for a king, because I hoped that the next would be Henry's turn," *Lansdowne MS.* 822, f. 57. It is in this letter that Russell says the Protector was more troubled about some difficulty in Lady Frances' business than about anything else. See note, p. 146 below.]

Mr. Speaker,

I come hither to answer That that was in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me 'yesterday;' which was in relation to the Desires that were offered to me by the House in That they called their Petition.[4]

I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.[5] I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some 'too,' and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

I have, the best I can, revolved[6] the whole Business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, that I think I shall not need to repeat anything that I have said. I think it is an 'Act of' Government that, in the aims of it, seeks the Settling 'of' the Nation on a good foot,[7] in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation. And I hope I shall never be found to be one of them that go about to rob the Nation of those Rights;—but 'always' to serve them what I can to the attaining of them. It is also exceeding well provided there for the safety and security of honest men in that great natural and religious liberty, which is Liberty of Conscience.—These are the great Fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them (as I have 'done,' and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world): That the intentions and the things[1] are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

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[1] Report by Whitlocke and Committee: in *Commons Journals* (8th May 1657), vii. 531.

[2] ii. 588, &c., the vague passage always cited on this occasion.

[3] [There are many reports of this speech extant. Carlyle took it from the *Commons Journals*, which is probably the best text; but the versions in *Add. MS.* 6125, the *Harley MSS.* the *Clarke MSS.*, and Thurloe differ very little from it. It is also in *Monarchy Asserted*, from which it was copied into Somers and Burton.]

[4] ["and advice," Thurloe.]

[5] 23 Feb.—8th May: ten weeks and more. [*Add. MS.* 6125 goes on "I am very [sure?] that it hath cost me some."]

[6] [*Commons Journals* and *Harley MS.* have as above. The other texts have "resolved."]

[7] ["I believe it is that which in the aim of it is for the settling of the nation upon a good foot," *Clarke MS.*]

I have only had the unhappiness, both in my Conference with your Committees,[2] and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing that hath been so often insisted on by you,—to wit, the Title of King,—as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by yourselves.[3] And 'yet' I do, with all honour and respect, [to the judgment of a Parliament][4] testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to lie in the balance with the judgment of Parliament, but in things that respect particular persons,—every man that is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that that he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others Liberties,[5] surely you will not deny *me* this; it being not only[6] a Liberty but a Duty, and such a Duty as I cannot without sinning forbear, —to examine my own heart and thoughts and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

I must confess therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other [particulars],[7] yet I must be a little confident in this, That what with the circumstances[8] that accompany human actions, —whether they be circumstances of time or persons [*Straightlaced Republican Soldiers that have just been presenting you their Petition*], whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private or particular circumstances that compass any person[1] that is to render an account of his own actions,—I have truly thought, and 'I' do still think, that, if I should, at the best, do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly.[2] And certainly what'soever,' is so is not of faith. And whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it,—whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it [*Thinskinned Republicans, or the like "circumstances"*], which make all indifferent actions good or evil.[3] I say "Circumstances" [*Yes !*]; and truly I mean good or evil to him that doth it. [*Not to you Honourable Gentlemen, who have merely advised it in general.*]

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[1] ["the intentions of the things," *Add. MS.* 6125; "your intentions in the things," Thurloe; "your intentions the things," *Clarke MS.*]

[2] [Singular in *Clarke* and *Add. MS.* 6125]

[3] ["yourself," *Commons Journals*; "that the title of King was in itself so necessary as it seemed to be apprehended by yourselves," *Clarke MS.*]

[4] [Carlyle omitted these last six words, but they are in every text of the speech.]

[5] ["liberty," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[6] ["which is not only," *Clarke MS.*]

[7] [This word given only in *Clarke MS.* and Thurloe.]

[8] ["That whatever the circumstances be," Thurloe.]

I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty[4]—Only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who hath laid so infinite obligations on me [*With a kind glance over those honourable faces; all silent as if dead, many of them with their mouths open*]; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake,[5] and for saving time and trouble; and indeed for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge publicly I have been unreasonably[6] troublesome! [I say I could have wished I had given it sooner.][7] But[8] truly this is my Answer, That although I think the 'Act of' Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but in that one thing, 'of' the Title[9] (as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I should not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it—'as to' which I have a little more experimented than everybody[10] what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings [*Sentence*

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[1] ["accompany," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[2] ["it would be at the best, doubtingly," *ibid.*]

[3] ["to him that doth them," *ibid* (and next sentence omitted).]

[4] ["to let you know," *Clarke MS.*]

[5] ["their sake," *ibid.*]

[6] ["unseasonably," Thurloe.]

[7] [These words were omitted by Carlyle.]

[8] ["that," *Clarke MS.*]

[9] ["the government propounded doth consist of excellent things all but in that very thing of the title," *ibid.*]

[10] ["every man," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

irrecoverable]—I say I am persuaded[1] to return this Answer to you, That I cannot undertake this Government[2] with that Title of King. And that is mine Answer to this great and weighty Business.*

And so *exeunt* Widdrington and Parliament: "Buzz, buzz! Distinct at last!"—and the huge buzzing of the public mind falls silent, that of the Kingship being now ended;—and this Editor and his readers are delivered from a very considerable weariness of the flesh.

'The Protector,' says Bulstrode, 'was satisfied in his private 'judgment that it was fit for him to accept this Title of King, and 'matters were prepared in order thereunto. But afterwards, by 'solicitation of the Commonwealth's-men,' by solicitation, representation and even denunciation from 'the Commonwealth's-men' and 'many Officers of the Army,' he decided 'to attend some better 'season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time.'[3] With which summary account let us rest satisfied. The secret details of the matter are dark, and are not momentous. The Lawyer-party, as we saw, were all in favour of the measure. Of the Soldier-party, Ex-Major-Generals Whalley, Goffe, Berry are in a dim way understood to have been for it; Desborow and Fleetwood strong against it; to whom Lambert, much intriguing in the interim, had at last openly joined himself.[4] Which line of conduct, so soon as it became manifest, procured him from his Highness a handsome dismissal. Dismissal from all employment; but with a retiring pension of 2,000*l.*: which mode of treatment passed into a kind of Proverb, that season; and men of wooden wit were wont to say to one another, "I will *Lambertise* you."[5] The 'great Lord Lambert,' hitherto a very important man, now 'cultivated flowers at Wimbledon;' attempted higher things, on his own footing, in a year or two, with the worst conceivable success; and in fact had at this point, to all reasonable intents, finished his public work in this world.

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[1] ["persuaded therefore," *Clarke MS.*]

[2] ["affair," *ibid.*]

[3] Whitlocke, p. 646.

[4] Godwin, iv. 352, 367; [Harley 6846, f. 237.]

[5] Heath's *Chronicle*.

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 533; as reported by Speaker Widdrington, on Tuesday the 12th. Reported too in Somers (pp. 400-1), but in the form of coagulated nonsense there. The *Commons Journals* give it as here, with no variation worth noticing, in the shape of sense. [Also *Add. MS.* 6125, p. 227; *Clarke MS.* xxix. 58; Thurloe, vi. 367; *Monarchy Asserted* (and Burton, from this last).]

The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted;[1] a much improved frame of Government; with a Second House of Parliament; with a Chief Magistrate who is to 'nominate his successor,' and be King in all points except the name. News of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz reach us in these same days,[2] whereupon is Public Thanksgiving, and voting of a Jewel to General Blake: and so, in a general tide of triumphant accordance, and outward and inward prosperity, this Second Protectorate Parliament advances to the end of its First Session.

SPEECH XV., LETTERS CCXVIII.—CCXXIV

The Session of Parliament is prosperously reaching its close; and during the recess there will be business enough to do. Selection of our new House of Lords; carrying-on of the French League Offensive against Spain; and other weighty interests. Of which the following small documents, one short official Speech, and seven short, mostly official Letters, are all that remain to us.

SPEECH XV

Parliament has passed some Bills; among the rest, some needful Money-Bills, assessment of 340,000*l.* a-month on England, 6,000*l.* on Scotland, 9,000*l.* on Ireland;[3] to all which his Highness, with some word of thanks for the money, will now signify his assent. Unexceptionable word of thanks, accidentally preserved to us,[4] which, with the circumstances attendant thereon, we have to make conscience of reporting.[5]

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[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 358 (25th May 1657); Whitlocke, p. 648.—See, in Appendix, No. 30, another Speech of Oliver's on the occasion; forgotten hitherto. *Note of* 1857.)

[2] 28th May (*Commons Journals*, vii. 54; Burton, ii. 142).

[3] *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 151; *Commons Journals*, vii. 554-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 551-2.

[5] ["340,000" is a mistake for 34,000*l.*; which was the sum at first imposed upon England; Scotland and Ireland having 6,000*l.* and 10,000*l.* respectively; but upon petition of the Irish members, the proportion for Ireland was reduced to 9,000*l.*, and that for England, in consequence, raised to 35,000*l.* But this was not one of the bills to which the Protector gave his assent on Tuesday morning, June 9, for it was

Tuesday morning, 9th June 1657, Message comes to the Honourable House, That his Highness, in the Painted Chamber, requires their presence. They gather up their Bills; certain Money-Bills 'for an assessment towards the Spanish War;' and 'divers other Bills, some of public, some of more private concernment,' among which latter we notice one for settling Lands in the County of Dublin on Widow Bastwick and her four children, Dr. Bastwick's widow, poor Susannah, who has long been a solicitress in this matter: these Bills the Clerk of the Commons gathers up, the Serjeant shoulders his Mace; and so, Clerk and Serjeant leading off, and Speaker Widdrington and all his Honourable Members following, the whole House in this due order, with its Bills and apparatus, proceeds to the Painted Chamber. There, on his platform, in chair of state sits his Highness, attended by his Council and others. Speaker Widdrington at a table on the common level of the floor 'finds a chair set for him, and a form for his clerk.' Speaker Widdrington, hardly venturing to sit, makes a 'short and pithy Speech' on the general proceedings of Parliament; presents his Bills, with probably some short and pithy words, such as suggest themselves, prefatory to each: "A few slight Bills; they are but as the grapes that precede the full vintage, may it please your Highness." His Highness in due form signifies assent; and then says:

Mr. Speaker,

I perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governors to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons their care and regard of the Public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.*

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not even brought in until that afternoon; there had been an earlier "three months' assessment" passed just before. The later one was for three years, which is perhaps what the Speaker alluded to when he spoke of the vintage to follow the "few grapes."]

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 552: Reported by Widdrington in the afternoon. [See also *Mercurius Politicus*, June 4-11 (E. 503 (14)) and other newspapers.]

The Parliament has still some needful polishing-up of its Petition and Advice, other perfecting of details to accomplish: after which it is understood there will be a new and much more solemn Inauguration of his Highness; and then the First Session will, as in a general peal of joy-bells, harmoniously close.

LETTER CCXVIII

Official Letter of Thanks to Blake, for his Victory at Santa Cruz on the 20th April last. The 'small Jewel' sent herewith is one of 500*l.* value, gratefully voted him by the Parliament; among whom, as over England generally, there is great rejoicing on account of him. Where Blake received this Letter and Jewel we know not; but guess it may have been in the Bay of Cadiz. Along with it, 'Instructions' went out to him to leave a Squadron of Fourteen Ships there, and come home with the rest of the Fleet. He died, as we said above, within sight of Plymouth, on the 7th of August following.

'To General Blake, at Sea'

Whitehall, 10th June 1657.

Sir,

I have received yours of 'the 20th of April last;'[1] and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Sancta Cruz.

The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the enemy hath received, as also in the preservation of our 'own' ships and men;[2]—which indeed was very wonderful, and according to the wonted goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord, wherewith His people have been followed in all these late revolutions; and 'doth' call for on our part, that we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.

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[1] Blank in *MS.*: see *antea*, p. 84. [Blake's own letter does not seem to be preserved.]

[2] '50 slain outright, 150 wounded, of ours' (Burton, ii. 142).

We cannot but take notice also how eminently it hath pleased God to make use of you in this service; assisting you with wisdom in the conduct, and courage in the execution, and have sent you a small jewel, as a testimony of our own and the Parliament's good acceptance of your carriage in this action. We are also informed that the officers of the fleet, and the seamen, carried themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to show our acceptance thereof. In the mean time, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them.

Thus, beseeching the Lord to continue His presence with you, I remain,

Your very affectionate friend,
'OLIVER P.'*

Land-General Reynolds has gone to the French Netherlands' with Six-thousand men, to join Turenne in fighting the Spaniards there; and Sea-General Montague is about hoisting his flag to co-operate with him from the other element. By sea and land are many things passing;—and here in London is the loudest thing of all: not yet to be entirely omitted by us, though now it has fallen very silent in comparison. Inauguration of the Lord Protector; second and more solemn Installation of him, now that he is fully recognised by Parliament itself. He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned King; but he shall be installed in his Protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion.

Friday, 26th June 1657. The Parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labours of the Session being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new Instrument of Government, to our elaborate Petition and Advice, we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, 'in a place prepared,' duly prepared with all manner of 'platforms,' 'cloths of state,' and 'seats raised one above the other,' 'at the upper end of Westminster Hall.' Palaceyard, and London generally, is all a-tiptoe, out of doors. Within doors, Speaker Widdrington and the Master of the Ceremonies have done their best: the Judges, the Aldermen, the Parliament, the Council, the foreign Ambassadors, and domestic Dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals, and acclamations of the people—Let the reader conceive it; or read in old Pamphlets the ‘exact relation’ of it with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier than such things usually are of being read.[1]

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* Thurloe, vi. 342. 'Instructions to General Blake,' of the same date, *ibid.* [In Thurloe's writing.]

‘His Highness standing under the Cloth of State,’ says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it, ‘the Speaker in the name of the Parliament presented to him: First, a *Robe* of purple velvet; which the Speaker, assisted by Whitlocke and others, put upon his Highness. Then he,’ the Speaker, ‘delivered to him the *Bible* richly gilt and bossed,’ an affecting symbolic Gift: ‘After that, the Speaker girt the *Sword* about his Highness: and delivered into his hand the *Sceptre* of massy gold. And then, this done, he made a Speech to him on these several things presented;’ eloquent mellifluous Speech, setting forth the high and true significance of these several Symbols, Speech still worth reading; to which his Highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. ‘Then Mr. Speaker gave him the Oath;’ and so ended, really in a solemn manner. ‘And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by land and sea, and the whole Government and People of the Three Nations, to the blessing and protection of God.’— —And then ‘the people gave several great shouts;’ and ‘the trumpets sounded; and the Protector sat in his chair of state, holding the Sceptre in his hand:’ a remarkable sight to see. ‘On his right sat the Ambassador of France,’ on his left some other Ambassador; and all round, standing or sitting, were Dignitaries of the highest quality; ‘and near the Earl of Warwick, stood the Lord Viscount Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke, each of them having a drawn sword in his hand,’—sublime sight to some of us![2]

And so this Solemnity transacts itself;—which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment of Human History, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of Symbolism: perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden histrionic ages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion.—The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of January next; the new House of Lords, and much else, shall be got ready in the interim.

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[1] An exact Relation of the Manner of the solemn Investiture, &c. (Reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 152-160.) [Printed in the newspapers of that week. See E. 503 (20) and 505 (1). And for Widdrington's Speech, E. 505 (2).]

[2] Whitlocke, p. 661.

LETTER CCXIX[1]

Sea-General Montague, whom we saw standing with drawn sword beside the chair of state, is now about proceeding to co-operate with Land-General Reynolds, on the despatch of real business.

For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs

Whitehall, 11th August 1657.

Sir,

You having desired by several letters to know our mind concerning your weighing anchor and sailing with the fleet out of the Downs, we have thought fit to let you know, that we do very well approve thereof, and that you do cruise up and down in the Channel, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest and honour of the Commonwealth.

I remain,
Your very loving friend,
'Oliver P.'*

Under the wax of the Commonwealth Seal, Montague has written, *His Highness's letter Aug*$^{st.}$ 11, 1657, *to comand mee to sayle.*

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[1] [Before this, see letters in Supplement, Nos. 131, 132, dated July 13 and August 7. Also one of the same date (August 11) to the Grand Seigneur, No. 133.]

* *Cromwelliana*, p. 168: 'Original Letter, in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq.,'—is now (1846) in the British Museum (*Additional MSS.* No. 12,098). Only the Signature is Oliver's,—tragically physiognomic:—in letters long, thin, singularly straight in direction, but all notched and tremulous. [There is a copy of this amongst the MSS. of the Earl of Lonsdale, printed in the 13*th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix vii. p. 89, where, however, General or Admiral Edward Montagu is called Lord Montagu in error. He was created Baron Montagu and Earl of Sandwich by Charles II. in 1660.]

LETTER CCXX

For my loving Friend John Dunch, Esquire

'Hampton Court,' 27th August 1657.

Sir,

I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you was going to your Father's in Berkshire, I send this express to you, desiring you to come to me to Hampton Court.

With my respects to your Father,[1]—I rest.

Your loving friend,
Oliver P.*

Endorsed "From Oliver Protector, by his own hand."

This is the John Dunch of Pusey; married, as we saw, to Mayor's younger Daughter, the Sister-in-law to Richard Cromwell: the Collector for us of those Seventeen Pusey letters; of which we have here read the last. He is of the present Parliament, was of the former; seems to be enjoying his recess, travelling about in the Autumn Sun of those old days,—and vanishes from History at this point, in the private apartments of Hampton Court.

LETTER CCXXI

General Montague, after a fortnight's cruising, has touched at the Downs again, '28th August, wind at S.S.W.,' being in want of some instruction on a matter that has risen.[2] 'A Flushinger,' namely, 'has come into St. Maloes; said to have twenty-five ton of silver in her;' a Flushinger there, and six 'other Dutch Ships' hovering in the distance; which are thought to be carrying silver and stores for the Spaniards. Montague has sent frigates to search them, to seize the very bullion if it be Spanish; but wishes fresh authority, in case of accident.

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[1] Father-in-law, Mayor. [More probably Dunch's own father. Oliver would have sent a warmer greeting to his "brother" Mayor].

[2] His Letter to Secretary Thurloe (Thurloe, vi. 489).

* Harris, p. 515. [Pusey letters, No. 21. Holograph, very tremulous writing. In the Morrison Collection.]

'For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs'

Hampton Court, 30th August 1657.

SIR,

The Secretary hath communicated to us your letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have given for the searching of a Flushinger and other Dutch Ships which (as you are informed) have bullion and other goods aboard them belonging to the Spaniard, the declared enemy of this State.

There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the laws of nations and 'to' the particular treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to continue the said direction, and to require the captains to be careful in doing their duty therein.

Your very loving friend,
OLIVER P.*

LETTER CCXXII

BY the new and closer Treaty signed with France in March last,[1] for assaulting the Spanish Power in the Netherlands, it was stipulated that the French King should contribute Twenty-thousand men, and the Lord Protector Six-thousand, with a sufficient Fleet; which combined forces were straightway to set about reducing the three Coast Towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; the former when reduced to belong to France, the two latter to England; if the former should chance to be the first reduced, it was then to be given up to England, and held as cautionary till the other two were got. Mardike and Dunkirk, these were what Oliver expected to gain by this adventure. One or both of which strong Haven-towns would naturally be very useful to him, connected with the Continent as he was,—continually menaced with Royalist Invasion from that quarter; and struggling, as the aim of his whole Foreign Policy was, to unite Protestant Europe with England in one great effectual league.[1] Such was the French Treaty of the 23d of March last.

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* Thurloe, vi. 489.

[1] 23d March 1656-7: Authorities in Godwin (iv. 540-3).

Oliver's part of the bargain was promptly and faithfully fulfilled. Six-thousand well-appointed men, under Commissary-General Reynolds, were landed, 'in new red coats,' 'near Boulogne, on the 13th and 14th days of May' last; and a Fleet under Montague, as we observe, sufficient to command those seas, and prevent all relief by ships in any Siege, is actually cruising there. Young Louis Fourteenth came down to the Coast to see the English Troops reviewed; expressed his joy and admiration over them;—and has set them, the Cardinal and he have set them, to assault the Spanish Power in the Netherlands by a plan of their own! To reduce not 'Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk,' on the Coast, as the Treaty has it, but Montmédi, Cambray, and I know not what in the Interior;—the Cardinal doubling and shuffling, and by all means putting off the attack of any place whatever on the Coast! With which arrangement Oliver Protector's dissatisfaction has at length reached a crisis; and he now writes, twice on the same day, to his Ambassador, To signify peremptorily that the same must terminate.

Of 'Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France' in these years, there were much more to be said than we have room for here. A man of distinguished qualities, of manifold adventures and employments; whose Biography, if he could find any Biographer with real industry instead of sham industry, and above all things with human *eyes* instead of pedant *spectacles*, might still be worth writing in brief compass.[2] He is Scotch; of the

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[1] *Foreign Affairs in the Protector's Time* (in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 329-39), by some ancient anonymous man of sense, is worth reading.

[2] Noble (ii. 233-73) has reproduced, probably with new errors, certain MS. 'Family Memoirs' of this Lockhart, which are everywhere very vague, and in passages (that of Dunkirk, for example) quite *mythological*. Lockhart's own Letters are his best Memorial;—for the present, drowned, with so much else, in the deep slumber-lakes of Thurloe; with or without chance of recovery. [See his Life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Also Waylen's *House of Cromwell and Story of Dunkirk.*]

'Lockharts of Lee' in Lanarkshire; has been in many wars and businesses abroad and at home;—was in *Hamilton's Engagement*, for one thing; and accompanied Dugald Dalgetty or Sir James Turner in those disastrous days and nights at Preston,[1] though only as a common Colonel then, and not noticed by anybody.[2] In the next Scotch War he received affronts from the Covenanted King; remained angrily at home, did not go to Worcester or elsewhither. The Covenanted King having vanished, and Lockhart's connexions being Presbyterian-Royalist, there was little outlook for him now in Scotland, or Britain; and he had resolved on trying France again. He came accordingly to London, seeking leave from the Authorities; had an interview with Oliver, now newly made Protector,—who read the worth of him, saw the uses of him, advised him to continue where he was.

He did continue; married[3] 'Miss Robina Sewster,' a Huntingdonshire lady, the Protector's Niece, to whom, in her girlhood, we once promised 'a distinguished husband;'[4] has been our Ambassador in France near two years now,[5]—does diplomatic, warlike, and whatever work comes before him, in an effectual and manful manner. It is thought by judges, that, in Lockhart, the Lord Protector had the best Ambassador of that age. Nay, in spite of all considerations, his merits procured him afterwards a similar employment in Charles Second's time. We must here cease speaking of him; recommend him to some diligent succinct Biographer of insight, should such a one, by unexpected favour of the Destinies, turn up.

'*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France*'[6]

Whitehall, 31st August 1657.

SIR,

I have seen your last Letter to Mr. Secretary,[7] as also divers others: and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness[1] and performance. And that which increaseth our sense 'of this' is, The resolution we 'for our part' had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish 'as' to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things; yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath, we never could doubt, before we made our treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed 'towards' as we are!

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[1] *Antea*, vol. i. p. 334.

[2] [He was at any rate sufficiently noticeable to have to pay 1,000*l.* for his liberty after his surrender to Lambert and imprisonment at Newcastle.]

[3] [As his second wife.]

[4] *Antea*, vol. i. p. 253.—"Married, 22 Feb. 1654, William Lockhart Esq., and Robina Sewster, both of this parish" (*Register of St. Martin's in the Fields*, London).

[5] Since 30th Dec. 1655 ('Family Memoirs' in Noble, ii. 244).

[6] Now with the Court at Peronne (Thurloe, vi. 482, 487); soon after at Paris (*ib.* 496).

[7] [Lockhart's last letters to Thurloe were those of August 26 and 28, old style (Thurloe vi. pp. 482, 486) but perhaps these had not yet come to hand. The Protector seems rather to be answering that of August 4-14 (*ibid.* p. 437).]

To talk of giving us garrisons which are inland, as caution for future action; to talk of what will be done next campania, are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne; which I think they will do as soon as be honest to their words in giving us any one Spanish garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side 'of the water,' though Spanish.

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, that I think, if France desires to maintain his ground, much more to get ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any design he hath![2] Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those who are with him, yet we think that, we being able by sea to strengthen and secure his siege, and 'to' reinforce it as we please by sea, and the enemy 'being' in a capacity to do nothing to relieve it, the best time to besiege that place will be now, especially if you consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders as that no succour can be brought to relieve the place; and that the French Army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment,—especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to the southward[1] as they are.

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[1] 'ingenuity,' as usual, in *orig.*

[2] [In a letter to Mazarin, written this same day, Bordeaux says that he has had an interview with Thurloe, in which the Secretary's whole discourse was touching the execution of the last Treaty; and that he appeared convinced that the French troops might quite well have marched.]

I desire you to let him know that Englishmen have had so good experience of winter expeditions, that they are confident, that if the Spaniard shall keep the field, as he cannot impede this work, so neither will he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat.[2] And what doth all delays signify but the giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and to the keeping our men another summer to serve the French, without any colour of a reciprocal, or any advantage to ourselves!—

And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered-of to give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our naval forces and otherwise; which out of an honourable and honest aim on our part hath been done that we might answer our Engagements. And, 'in fine,' that consideration may be had how our men may be put into a posture to be returned to us; which we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them to continue where they are.

I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know further, that our intentions, as they have been, so they will be, to do all the good offices we can to promote the interest common to us.[3]

Apprehending it is of moment that this Business should come to you with speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

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[1] Spain-ward: so much inclined to help the Spaniard, if Montague would let them; a thing worth Mazarin's consideration too, though it comes in irregularly here!

[2] You may cut off his retreat, if he venture that way.

[3] 'thereof' in *orig.*

* Thurloe, vi. 490. [In Thurloe's handwriting.]

LETTER CCXXIII

SAME date, same parties; an afterthought, by the same Express.

'To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France'

Whitehall, 31st August, 1657.

SIR,

We desire, having written to you as we have, that the design be Dunkirk rather than Gravelines; and much more that it be so; but one of them rather than fail.

We shall not be wanting, at the French charge, to send over two of our old regiments of foot, and two-thousand foot more, if need be, if Dunkirk be the design;[1] believing that if the Army be well entrenched, and La Ferte's Foot added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard, leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot.

And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our parts. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us have any footing on that side the water,—then I desire, as in our other letter to you, that all things may be prepared in order to the giving us satisfaction 'for our expense incurred,' and the drawing-off of our men.

And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

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[1] Gravelines is to belong to *them*; Dunkirk to *us*; Dunkirk will be much preferable.

* Thurloe, vi. 489. [In Thurloe's handwriting.]

This Letter naturally had its effect: indeed there goes a witty sneer in France, "The Cardinal is more afraid of Oliver than of the Devil;"—he ought indeed to fear the Devil much more, but Oliver is the palpabler Entity of the two! Mardike was besieged straightway; girt by sea and land, and the great guns opened 'on the 21st day of September' next: Mardike was taken before September ended; and due delivery to our General was had of Mardike. The place was in a weak state; but by sea and land all hands were now busy fortifying and securing it.

LETTER CCXXIV

Here has an old dim Letter lately turned up,—communicated, for new editions, by the distinguished General Montague's Descendant,—which evidently relates to this operation. Resuscitated from its dim Archives, it falls with ready fitness into rank here; kindling the old dead Books into pleasant momentary light and wakefulness at this point, and sufficiently illuminating itself also thereby. A curious meeting, one of those curious meetings, of old Letterpress now forgotten with old Manuscript never known till now, such as occasionally cheer the learned mind!—Of 'Denokson,' clearly some Dutch Vauban, or war *timmerman* on the great scale; of him, or of 'Colonel Clerke,' whom I take to be a Sea-Colonel mainly, the reader needs no commentary;—and is to understand withal that their hasty work was got accomplished, and Mardike put in some kind of fencible condition.

For General Montague, on board the London, before Dunkirk: These

Whitehall, 2d October 1657.

Sir,

This bearer, Christian Denokson, I have sent to you, being a very good artist, especially in wooden works,—to view the Great Fort and the Wooden Fort, in order to the further strengthening of them.

I hope he is very able to make the Wooden Fort as strong as it is capable to be made; which I judge very desirable to be done with all speed. I desire you will direct him in this view, and afterwards speak with him about it, that upon his return I may have a very particular account about what is fit to be done, and what timber will be necessary to be provided. I have written also to Colonel Clerke, the Governor of the Fort, about it. I pray, when he has finished his view, that you will hasten him back.

I rest,
Your very affectionate friend,
Oliver P.*

An attempt to retake Mardike, by scalado or surprisal from the Dunkirk side, was made, some three weeks hence, by Don John with a great Spanish Force, among which his Ex-Royal Highness the Duke of York, with Four English-Irish emigrant Regiments he has now got raised for him on Spanish pay, was duly conspicuous; but it did not succeed; it amounted only to a night of unspeakable tumult; to much expenditure of shot on all sides, and of life on his Royal Highness's and Don John's side,—Montague pouring death-fire on them from his ships too, and 'four great flaming links at the corners of Mardike Tower' warning Montague not to aim *thitherward*;—and 'the dead were carried-off in carts before sunrise.'[1]

Let us add here, that Dunkirk, after gallant service shown by the Six-thousand, and brilliant fighting and victory on the sand-hills, was also got, next summer;[2] Lockhart himself now commanding there, poor Reynolds having perished at sea. Dunkirk too remained an English Garrison, much prized by England; till, in very altered times, his now Restored Majesty saw good to sell it, and the loyallest men had to make their comparisons. —On the whole we may say, this Expedition to the Netherlands was a successful one; the Six-thousand, 'immortal Six-thousand' as some call them,[3] gained what they were sent for, and much glory over and above.

* Original in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich, at Hinchinbrook (February 1849). Only the Signature is Oliver's; hand, as before, 'very shaky.'

[1] 22d October (Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 727; Carte's *Ormond*, ii. 175).

[2] 13th June 1658, the fight; 15th June, the surrender; 24th, the delivery to Lockhart (Thurloe, vii. 155, 173, &c.). Clarendon, iii. 853-58. [See also the *State Papers* for this year, Domestic and Flanders.]

[3] Sir William Temple, *Memoirs*, Part iii. 154 (cited by Godwin, iv. 547).

These Mardike-and-Dunkirk Letters are among the last Letters left to us of Oliver Cromwell's:—Oliver's great heroic Dayswork, and the small unheroic pious one of Oliver's Editor, is drawing to a close! But in the same hours, 31st August 1657, while Oliver wrote so to Lockhart,—let us still spare a corner for recording it,—John Lilburn, Freeborn John, or alas only the empty *Case* of John, was getting buried; still in a noisy manner! Noisy John, set free from many prisons, had been living about Eltham lately, in a state of Quakerism, or Quasi-Quakerism. Here is the clipping from the old Newspaper:

'*Monday, 31st August* 1657. Mr. John Lilburn, commonly 'known by the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, dying on 'Saturday at Eltham, was this morning removed thence to London; and his corpse conveyed to the House called the *Mouth*,' old, still extant *Bull-and-Mouth* Inn, 'at Aldersgate,—which is 'the usual meeting-place of the people called Quakers, to whom, 'it seems, he had lately joined in opinion. At this place, in the 'afternoon, there assembled a medley of people; among whom 'the Quakers were most eminent for number: and within the 'house a controversy was, Whether the ceremony of a hearse-cloth' (pall) 'should be cast over his coffin? But the major 'part, being Quakers, would not assent; so the coffin was, about 'five o'clock in the evening, brought forth into the street. At 'its coming out, there stood a man on purpose to cast a velvet 'hearse-cloth over the coffin; and he endeavoured to do it: but 'the crowd of Quakers would not permit him; and having gotten 'the body upon their shoulders, they carried it away without 'farther ceremony; and the whole company conducted it into 'Moorfields, and thence to the new Churchyard adjoining to 'Bedlam, where it lieth interred.'[1]

One noisy element, then, is out of this world:—another is fast going. Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, over here once more on Insurrectionary business, scheming out a new Invasion of the Charles-Stewart Spaniards and English-Irish Regiments, and just lifting anchor for Flanders again, was seized 'in the Ship *Hope*, 'in a mean habit, disguised like a countryman, and his face much 'altered by an overgrown beard;'—before the Ship *Hope* could get under weigh, about a month ago.[2] Bushy-bearded Sexby, after due examination by his Highness, has been lodged in the Tower; where his mind falls into a very unsettled state. In October next he volunteers a confession; goes mad; and in the January following dies,[1] and to his own relief and ours disappears,—poor Sexby.

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[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 168). [Closely following this in the newspapers and forming a curious contrast to it, is the account of Blake's stately funeral in Westminster Abbey. See *Merc. Pol.* (E. 505 (18, 20)).]

[2] 24th July, Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 167).

Sexby, like the Stormy Petrel, indicates that new Royalist-Anabaptist Tumult is a-brewing. 'They are as the waves of the Sea, they cannot rest; they must stir up mire and dirt,'—it is the lot appointed them! In fact, the grand Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on the anvil; and they will try it, this year, even without the Preface of Assassination. New troubles are hoped from this new Session of Parliament, which begins in January. The 'Excluded Members' are to be readmitted then; there is to be a 'Second House:' who knows what possibilities of trouble! A new Parliament is always the signal for new Royalist attempts; even as the Moon to waves of the sea: but we hope his Highness will be prepared for them![2]—

Wednesday, 11th November 1657. 'This day,' say the old Newspapers, 'the most Illustrious Lady, the Lady Frances Cromwell, 'youngest Daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector, was 'married to the most noble gentleman Mr. Robert Rich, Son 'of the Lord Rich, Grandchild of the Earl of Warwick and of the 'Countess-Dowager of Devonshire; in the presence of their 'Highnesses, and of his Grandfather, and Father, and the said 'Countess, with many other persons of high honour and quality.' At Whitehall, this blessed Wednesday; all difficulties now overcome;[3]—which we are glad to hear of, 'though our friends truly were very few!'—And on the Thursday of next week follows, at Hampton Court, the Lady Mary's own Wedding.[4] Wedding

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[1] *Cromwelliana*, pp. 169-70.

[2] [Scotland, too, was in a restless state, by reason of "rents and divisions" amongst the different religious parties. See S. P. Interregnum I. 78, p. 130.]

[3] [Some fresh difficulties appear to have arisen so lately as the April of this year. Sir Fras. Russell (whose son was afterwards Lady Frances' second husband), writing to Henry Cromwell on April 27, in the midst of the discussions over Kingship, says, "Here hath been some troubles about the business of Mr. Rich and my Lady Frances; they seem to me yet to continue, and to trouble the minds both of your father and mother more than anything else," *Lansdowne MS.*, 822, f. 57.]

[4] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 169). [Dugdale, writing to a friend on Nov. 14, says, "On Wednesday last was my Lord Protector's daughter married to the Earl of Warwick's grandson; Mr. Scobell, as a justice of the peace, tied the knot after a godly prayer made by one of his Highness' divines; and on Thursday was the wedding feast kept at Whitehall, where they had forty-eight violins and fifty trumpets and much mirth with frolics, besides mixt dancing (a thing hitherto counted profane) till five of the clock yesterday morning. Amongst the dancers

'to the most noble lord, the Lord Fauconberg,' lately returned from his Travels in foreign parts: a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named,—which was once very high in Royalism, but is now making other connexions. For the rest, a brilliant, ingenuous and hopeful young man, 'in my opinion a person of extraordinary parts;'[1] of whom his Highness has made due investigation, and finds that it may answer.[2]

And now for the new Session of Parliament which assembles in January next: the Second Session of Parliament, and indeed the last of this and of them all![3]

SPEECHES XVI.—XVIII., LETTER CCXXV

The First Session of this Parliament closed, last June, under such auspicious circumstances as we saw; leaving the People and the Lord Protector in the comfortable understanding that there was now a Settlement arrived at, a Government possible by Law; that irregular exercises of Authority, Major-Generals and such like, would not be needed henceforth for saving of the Commonwealth. Our Public Affairs, in the Netherlands and elsewhere, have prospered in the interim; nothing has misgone. Why should not this Second Session be as successful as the First was?—Alas, success, especially on such a basis as the humours and

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there was the Earl of Newport, who danced with her Highness. There was at this great solemnity the Countess of Devonshire (grandmother to the bridegroom), who presented the bride with 2,000*l.* worth of plate. And ere long the other daughter is to be married to my Lord Fauconbridge, as 'tis said." (Duke of Sutherland's MSS. calendared in *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 177.) Dugdale is of course not a very trustworthy authority as regards the Protector's doings, but there seems certainly to have been the "mixed dancing," which would be rather a shock to the Puritan mind. We may perhaps take leave to doubt the fifty trumpets. Another letter in the same collection says, "The discourse of the town has been much filled up with the great marriage at Whitehall, which was solemnised there three or four days last week with music, dancing and great feasting, and it now begins for two or three days at the Earl of Warwick's" (*ibid.* p. 183)].

[1] Lockhart's report of him to Thurloe, after an interview at Paris, as ordered on Fauconberg's return homeward, 21st March 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 134; 125).

[2] [Bordeaux wrote a week or two later, that Lord Fauconberg was believed by every one to be the Protector's favourite son-in-law; that he treated him differently from the others and had him with him at all audiences to foreign ministers.]

[3] [But before this, there comes in a letter to his son Harry, and another letter to Mazarin (of which the holograph original is now back in England). See Supplement, Nos. 134, 135.]

parliamentary talkings and self-developments of Four-hundred men, is very uncertain! And indeed this Second Session meets now under conditions somewhat altered.

For one thing, there is to be a new House of Lords: we know not how that may answer! For another thing, it is not now permissible to stop our Haselrigs, Scotts and Ashley Coopers at the threshold of the Parliament, and say, Ye shall not enter: if they choose to take the Oath prescribed by this new Instrument, they have power to enter, and only the Parliament itself can reject them. These, in this Second Session, are new elements; on which, as we have seen, the generation of Plotters are already speculating; on which naturally his Highness too has his anxieties.[1] His Highness, we find, as heretofore, struggles to *do* his best and wisest, not yielding much to anxieties: but the result is, this Session proved entirely unsuccessful; perhaps the unsuccessfullest of all Sessions or Parliaments on record hitherto!—

The new House of Lords was certainly a rather questionable adventure. You do not improvise a Peerage:—no, his Highness is well aware of that! Nevertheless 'somewhat to stand between me and the House of Commons' has seemed a thing desirable, a thing to be decided on: and this new House of Lords, this will be a 'somewhat,'—the best that can be had in present circumstances. Very weak and small as yet, like a tree new planted; but very certain to grow stronger, if it have real life in it, if there be in the nature of things a real necessity for it. Plant it, try it, this new Puritan Oliverian Peerage-of-Fact, such as it has been given us. The old Peerage-of-Descent, with its thousand years of strength,—what of the old Peerage has Puritan sincerity, and manhood and marrow in its bones, will, in the course of years, rally round an Oliver and his new Peerage-of-Fact,—as it is already, by many symptoms, showing a tendency to do. If the Heavens ordain that Oliver continue and succeed as hitherto, undoubtedly his new Peerage may succeed along with him, and gather to it whatever of the Old is worth gathering. In the mean while it has been enacted by the Parliament and him; his part is now, To put it in effect the best he can.

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[1] ["We conceive by some late actions," wrote Stephen Charlton to Sir R. Leveson on December 29, "that our great one at Whitehall hath a world of fears and jealousies in his breast, for on Christmas Day and the day following he hath caused at least five or six persons to be apprehended and sent to several places of security; and some of the persons of quality whilst they were at sermons and receiving the Communion in private houses . . . were seized by a troop of horse and carried to St. James'." *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners* (Duke of Sutherland's MSS.), Appendix, p. 165.]

The List of Oliver's Lords can be read in many books;[1] but issuing as that matter did, it need not detain us here. Puritan Men of Eminence, such as the Time had yielded: Skippon, Desborow, Whalley, Pride, Hewson, these are what we may call the *Napoleon-Marshals* of the business: Whitlocke, Haselrig, Lenthall, Maynard, old Frances Rouse, Scotch Warriston, Lockhart; Notabilities of Parliament, of Religious Politics, or Law. Montague, Howard are there; the Earls of Manchester, Warwick, Mulgrave,—some six Peers; of whom only one, the Lord Eure from Yorkshire, would, for the present, take his seat. The rest of the Six as yet stood aloof; even Warwick, as near as he was to the Lord Protector, could not think[2] of sitting with such a Napoleon-Marshal as Major-General Hewson, who, men say, started as a Shoemaker in early life.[3] Yes; in that low figure did Hewson start; and has had to fight every inch of his way up hitherward, doing manifold victorious battle with the Devil and the World as he went along,—proving himself a bit of right good stuff, thinks the Lord Protector! You, Warwicks and others, according to what sense of manhood you may have, you can look into this Hewson, and see if you find any manhood or worth in him;—I have found some! The Protector's List, compiled under great difficulties,[4] seems, so far as we can now read it, very unexceptionable; practical, substantial, with an eye for the New and for the Old; doing between these two, with good insight, the best it can. There were some Sixty-three summoned in all; of whom some Forty and upwards sat, mostly taken from the House of Commons:—the worst effect of which was, that his Highness thereby lost some forty favourable votes in that other House; which, as matters went, proved highly detrimental there.

However, Wednesday 20th January 1657-8 has arrived. The Excluded Members are to have readmission,—so many of them as can take the Oath according to this New Instrument. His Highness hopes if they volunteer to swear this Oath, they will endeavour to keep it; and seems to have no misgivings about them. He to govern and administer, and they to debate and legislate, in conformity with this Petition and Advice, not otherwise; this is, in word and in essence, the thing they and he have mutually with all solemnity bargained to do. It may be rationally hoped that in all misunderstandings, should such arise, some good basis of agreement will and must unfold itself between parties so related to each other. The common dangers, as his Highness knows and will in due time make known, are again imminent; Royalist Plottings once more rife, Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion once more preparing itself.

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[1] Complete, in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 167-9: incomplete, with angry contemporary glosses to each Name, which are sometimes curious, in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 460-71. An old copy of the official *Summons* to these Lords is in *Additional Ayscough MSS.*, No. 3246.

[2] Ludlow, ii. 596.

[3] [While the names were still under discussion, Bordeaux wrote that their views would be as various as their condition; and later, he observed that there would be great difficulty about their prerogatives because a great part of the House was little qualified to support them.]

[4] Thurloe, vi. 648.

But now the Parliament reassembling, on this Wednesday the 20th, there begins, in the 'Outer Court,' since called the Lobby, an immense 'administering of the Oath,' the whole Parliament taking it; Six Commissioners appearing 'early in the morning,' with due apparatus and solemnity, minutely described in the Journals and Old Books;[1] and then labouring till all are sworn. That is the first great step. Which done, the Commons House constitutes itself; appoints 'Mr. Smythe' Clerk, instead of Scobell, who has gone to the Lords, and with whom there is continual controversy thenceforth about 'surrendering of Records' and the like. In a little while (hour not named) comes Black Rod; reports that his Highness is in the Lords House, waiting for this House. Whereupon, Shoulder Mace,—yes, let us take the Mace,—and march. His Highness, somewhat indisposed in health, leaving the main burden of the exposition to Nathaniel Fiennes of the Great Seal, who is to follow him, speaks to this effect; as the authentic Commons Journals yield it for us.[2]

SPEECH XVI

My Lords, and Gentlemen 'of' the House of Commons,

I meet you here in this capacity by the Advice and Petition of this present Parliament; after so much expense of blood and treasure, 'we are now' to search and try what blessings God hath in store for these Nations. I cannot but with gladness of heart remember and acknowledge the labour and industry that is past, 'your past labour,' which hath been spent upon a business worthy of the best men and the best Christians. [*May it prove fruitful!*]

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[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 578; Whitlocke, p. 666; Burton, ii. 322.

[2] [For this speech, we have the official report in the *Commons Journals*, made to the House next day by the Speaker, "as Mr. Scobell (now Clerk of the Upper House) had taken it," we are told by Burton, who copied it, and another version (differing in several points), in the *Harley MSS.* There is also a very good report, but in the third person and a good deal condensed, especially as regards the Bible quotations etc.—printed in *Mercurius Politicus* (E. 748 (7)) the *Public Intelligencer*, and *A Further Narrative, etc.*,—amongst the *King's Pamphlets.*]

It is very well known unto you all what difficulties we have passed through, and what 'issue' we are now arrived to. We hope we may say we have arrived at what we aimed at, if not at that which is much beyond our expectations.[1] The nature[2] of this Cause, and the Quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well know; I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it: It was the maintaining of the Liberty of these Nations; our Civil Liberties as Men, our Spiritual Liberties as Christians. [*Have we arrived at that?*] I shall not much look back; but rather say one word concerning the state and condition we are all now in.

You know very well, the first Declaration,[3] after the beginning of this War, that spake to the life, was a sense held forth by the Parliament, That for some succession of time[4] designs were laid to innovate upon the Civil Rights of the Nations, 'and' to innovate in matters of Religion. And those very persons that, a man would have thought, should have had the least hand in meddling with Civil things, did justify them all. [*Zealous sycophant Priests, Sibthorp, Manwaring, Montagu, of the Laud fraternity: forced-loans, monopolies, ship-moneys, all Civil Tyranny was right according to them!*] All 'the Civil'[5] transactions that were,—'they justified them' in 'their' pulpits, in presses, and otherwise! Which was verily thought, 'had they succeeded in it,' would have been a very good shelter to them, to innovate upon us in matters of Religion also. And so to innovate as to eat out the core and power and heart and life of all Religion, by bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish Ceremonies [*Somewhat animated, your Highness!*], and imposing them upon those that were accounted[1] the Puritans of the Nation, and professors of religion amongst us,—driving them to seek their bread in an howling wilderness, as was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find Liberty for their Consciences.

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[1] [Carlyle altered to "We hope we may say we have arrived, if not 'altogether' "at what we aimed at, yet at that which is much beyond our expectations," but all the texts have as above, and Oliver probably means: we have got what we hoped for, though there are other and better things which we did not dare to hope for.]

[2] ["state" *in all the texts.*]

[3] Declaration, 2d August 1642, went through the Lords House that day; it is in [Cobbet's] *Parliamentary History*, vi. 350. A thing of audacity reckoned almost impious at the time (see D'Ewes's MS. *Journal*, 23d July); corresponds in purport to what is said of it here.

[4] ["for some time before," *Newspapers* and *Further Narrative.*]

[5] ["irregular," *Newspapers* and *Further Narrative.*]

[You see that the Petition and Advice that brought me hither hath, not through a little difficulty, restored us both in point of civil liberty as we are men, and liberty for all those that are of the Protestant profession amongst us, who enjoy a freedom to worship God according to their consciences.][2]

Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our Quarrel, and of those Ten Years Wars wherein we have been exercised; and that the good hand of God, for we are to attribute it to no other, hath brought this business thus home unto us as it is stated[3] in the Petition and Advice,—I think we have all cause to bless God, and the Nations have cause to bless Him. [*If we were of thankful just heart,—yea!*]

I well remember I did a little touch upon the Eighty-fifth Psalm when I spake unto you in the beginning of this Parliament.[4] Which expresseth well that that *we* may say, as truly [and as well][5] as it was said of old by the Penman of that Psalm! The first verse is an acknowledgment to God that He had been favourable unto His land, and had brought back the captivity of His people; and 'then how' that He had pardoned all their iniquities and covered all their sin, and taken away all His wrath;—and indeed of [the sense of][1] these unspeakable mercies, blessings, and deliverances out of captivity, pardoning 'of' national sins and national iniquities. Pardoning, as God pardoneth the man whom He justifieth! He breaks through, and overlooks iniquity; and pardoneth because He will pardon. And sometimes God pardoneth Nations also![2]—And if the enjoyment of our present Peace and other mercies may be witnesses for God 'to *us*,'—we feel and we see them every day.

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[1] ["called and accounted," *Newspapers.*]

[2] [In *Harley MS.* only.]

[3] [Carlyle altered this to "settled;" "stated" is a reference to the disquisition on politics in the preamble to the Petition and Advice.]

[4] *Antea*, Speech VI. p. 13.

[5] [These three words omitted by Carlyle.]

The greatest demonstration of His favour and love appears to us in this: That He hath given us *Peace*;—and the blessings of Peace, to wit, the enjoyment of our Liberties, civil and spiritual! [*Were not our prayers, and struggles, and deadly wrestlings, all even for this;—and we in some measure have it!*] And I remember well, the Church 'in that same Eighty-fifth Psalm' falls into prayer and into praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much thankfulness for the enjoyment of present mercies; and breaks into this expression: "Surely salvation is nigh unto them that fear Him; that glory may dwell in our land." In the beginning he[3] calls it His land; "Thou hast been favourable to Thy land." Truly I hope this is His land, and in some sense it may be given out that it *is* God's land. And he that hath the weakest knowledge, and the worst memory, can easily tell 'that' we were a Redeemed People,[4]—'from the time' when first God was pleased to look favourably upon us, 'to redeem us' out of the hands of Popery, in that never to be forgotten Reformation, that most significant and greatest 'mercy' the Nation hath felt or tasted! I would but touch upon that,—and but a touch: How hath God redeemed us, as we stand this day![5] Not from trouble and sorrow and anger 'only,' but unto a blessed and happy estate and condition, comprehensive of all the Interest of every member, of every individual;—'an imparting to *us*' of those mercies [1] 'there spoken of,' as you very well see!

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[1] [In *Harley MS.* only.]

[2] ["so," *ibid.*]

[3] ["he" is here the Psalmist. The report has "favourable to our land," but this of course is a mistake.]

[4] ["that we are a redeemed people. We were a redeemed people," *Harley MS.*]

[5] ["as it is this day," *all the texts.*]

And then in what sense it is our Land;—through this grace and favour of God, That He hath vouchsafed unto us and bestowed upon us, with the Gospel, with Peace, and rest out of Ten Years War; and given us what we would desire! Nay, who could have forethought, when we were plunged into the midst of our troubles, That ever the people of God should have had liberty to worship God without fear of enemies? [*Strange: this "liberty" is to Oliver Cromwell a blessing almost too great for belief; to us it has become as common as the liberty to breathe atmospheric air,—a liberty not once worth thinking of. It is the way with all attainments and conquests in this world. Do I think of Cadmus, or the old unknown Orientals, while I write with* LETTERS? *The world is built upon the mere dust of Heroes: once earnest-wrestling, death-defying, prodigal of their blood; who now sleep well, forgotten by all their heirs.——"Without fear of enemies," he says*] Which is the very acknowledgment of the Promise of Christ that He would deliver His from 'the' fear of enemies, that they might worship Him in holiness and in righteousness all the days of their life.

This is the portion that God hath given *us;* and I trust we shall forever heartily acknowledge it!—The Church goes on there, 'in that Psalm,' and makes her boast yet farther; "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land." *His* glory; not carnal, nor anything related thereto: this glory of a Free Possession of the Gospel; [2] this is that that we may glory in! [*Beautiful, thou noble soul!—And very strange to see such things in the Journals of the English House of Commons. O Heavens, into what oblivion of the Highest have stupid, canting, cotton-spinning, partridge-shooting mortals fallen, since that January* 1658!] And it is said [3] farther, "Mercy and Truth are met

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[1] [The meaning here appears to be: "Comprehensive of all the interest of every member, of every individual, *in* those mercies."]

[2] [" not carnal nor anything else that accompanies this glory," *all the texts.*]

[3] [" he says," *ibid.* The Protector seems to have got a little confused between the voice of the Church and the voice of the psalmist.]

"together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other." And 'note,' it shall be such righteousness as comes down from Heaven: "Truth shall grow out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall come down from Heaven." Here is the Truth of all 'truths;' here is the righteousness of God, under the notion of righteousness confirming *our* abilities,[1]—answerable to the truth that He hath in the Gospel revealed towards us! [*According to Calvin and Paul.*] And the Psalm[2] closeth with this: "Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps;"—that righteousness, that mercy, that love and that kindness which we have seen, and been made partakers of from the Lord, *it* shall be our Guide, to teach us to know the right and the good way; which is, To tread in the steps of mercy, righteousness and goodness that our God hath walked before us in.—

We 'too' have a Peace this day! I believe in my very heart, you all think the things that I speak to you this day. I am sure you have cause.

And yet we are not without the murmurings of many people, who turn all this grace and goodness into wormwood; who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. And those men are of several ranks and conditions; great ones, lesser ones,[3]—of all sorts. Men that are of the Episcopal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches;—who gave themselves a fatal blow in this Place,[4] when they would needs make a Protestation that no Laws were good, which were made by this House and the House of Commons in *their* absence; and so without injury to others cut themselves off![5] 'Men of an Episcopal spirit;' indeed men that know not God; that know not how to account upon[1] the works of God, how to measure them out; but will trouble Nations for an Interest which is but *mixed*, at the best,—made up of iron and clay, like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's Image: whether they were more Civil or Spiritual was hard to say. But their continuance was like to be known beforehand; [*Yes, your Highness!*] iron and clay make no good mixtures, they are not durable at all!—

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[1] [" liberties," *Harley MS.*, which is probably the true reading.]

[2] [" And he closeth," *all the texts.*]

[3] [" men of all sorts," *Newspapers.*]

[4] In this same House of Lords, on the 10th of December 1641. Busy Williams, the Lincoln Decoy-duck, with his Eleven too-hasty Bishops, leading the way in that suicide. (*Antea*, vol. i. p. 108.) [" The place," in *Commons Journals*, but " this," in *Harley MS.*]

[5] [" and so without injury to themselves, cut off themselves," *Commons Journals.* Perhaps Oliver said: without injury, but to themselves (" but " in shorthand being, as already said, only a single stroke, easily overlooked). *Harley MS.* has " without injury to them," which might mean " to the Houses " and is not unlikely to be the true reading.]

You have now a godly Ministry; you have a knowing Ministry; such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not.[2] Men knowing the things of God, and able to search into the things of God,—by that only that can fathom those things in some measure.[3] The spirit of a beast knows not the spirit[4] of a man; nor doth the spirit of man know the things of God! "The things of God are known *by the Spirit*,"[5]—Truly I will remember but this one thing of those, 'the misguided persons now cast out from us:' Their greatest persecution hath been of the People of God;—men 'really' of the spirit of God, as I think very experience hath now sufficiently demonstrated![6]—

Besides, what's the reason, think you, that men slip in this age wherein we live? As I told you before,[7] They understand not the works of God. They consider not the operation of His Laws. They consider not that God resisted and broke in pieces the Powers that were, that men might fear Him;—might have liberty to do and to enjoy all that that we have been speaking of! Which certainly God has manifested to have been the end; and so hath He brought the things to pass![8] *Therefore* it is that men yet slip, and engage themselves against God. [They engage themselves, I say, against God.][9] And for that very cause, said David (*Psalm Twenty-eighth*), "He shall break them down, and not build them up!"[1]

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[1] [" account of," *Harley MS.*]

[2] [" the like," *Newspapers.*]

[3] [" to wit, the spirit of God," *Harley MS.*]

[4] [" things," Carlyle.]

[5] 1 Corinthians ii. 11.

[6] [" very experiences will sufficiently demonstrate," *all the texts.*]

[7] [" because they understand not," *Newspapers.*]

[8] [" God has manifested that this was the end, and that He hath brought the things to pass," *all the texts.*]

[9] [*Harley MS.*]

If, therefore, you would know upon what foundation you stand, own your foundation 'to be' from God. He hath set you where you are: He hath set you in the enjoyment of your Civil and of your Spiritual Liberties.

I deal clearly with you,[2] I have been under some infirmity; [*His Highness still looks unwell*] therefore dare not speak farther to you; but to let you know thus much, That I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of our Cause, and 'our' attainments in it to you, by the industry and labour of this Parliament since they last met[3] upon this foundation—You shall find I mean the Foundation of a Cause and Quarrel thus attained-to,—wherein we are thus estated.[4] I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours; [*What a tone!*] and would have done it, with all heartiness and cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity I was ever yet in, to serve the Parliament.

If God give you, as I trust He will,—[*"His blessing" or "strength:" but the Sentence is gone.*]—He *hath* given it you, for what have I been speaking of but what you have done? He hath given you strength to do what hath been done! And if God should bless you in this work, and make this Meeting happy upon this account, you shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord. [*Poor Oliver!*]—The generations to come will bless us. You shall be "the repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in!"[5] And if there be any 'higher' work that mortals can attain to in the world, beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance 'of it.'

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[1] ["bind them up," *Commons Journals* and *Harley MS.*, but right in the *Newspapers*, and corrected in *Parliamentary History*. In this instance, Cromwell quotes the Prayer-book version of the Psalms, which is very unusual with him. The Authorised Version has "shall destroy them." See note, vol. ii. p. 295.]

[2] Means "Give me leave to say."

[3] ["when they last met upon," *Commons Journals;* "when they last met, and upon," *Harley MS.*]

[4] This Parliament's 'foundation,' the ground *this* Parliament took its stand upon, was a recognition that our Cause had been so and so, that our 'attainment' and 'estate' in it were so and so; hence their *Petition and Advice*, and other very salutary labours.

[5] Isaiah lviii. 12.

As I told you, I have some infirmities upon me. I have not liberty to speak more unto you ; but I have desired an Honourable Person here by me—[*Glancing towards Nathaniel Fiennes, him with the Purse and Seal*] to discourse, a little more particularly, what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting.*

Nathaniel Fiennes follows in a long highflown, ingenious Discourse,[1] characterised by Dryasdust, in his Parliamentary History and other Works, as false, canting, and little less than insane ; for which the Anti-dryasdust reader has by this time learned to forgive that fatal Doctor of Darkness. Fiennes's Speech is easily recognisable, across its Calvinistic dialect, as full of sense and strength ; broad manful thought and clear insight, couched in a gorgeous figurative style, which a friendly judge might almost call poetic. It is the first time we thoroughly forgive the Honourable Nathaniel for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert long ago ; and rejoice that Prynne and Independency Walker did not get him shot, by Court-Martial, on that occasion.

Nathaniel compares the present state of England to the rising of Cosmos out of Chaos as recorded in *Genesis :* Two 'firmaments' are made, two separate Houses of Parliament ; much is made, but much yet remains to be made. He is full of figurative ingenuity ; full of resolution, of tolerance, of discretion, and various other good qualities not very rife in the world. "What shall be done to our Sister that hath no breasts?" he asks, in the language of Solomon's Song. What shall we do with those good men, friends to our Cause, who yet reject us, and sit at home on their estates? We will soothe them, we will submit to them, we will in all ways invite them to us. Our little Sister,—"if "she be a wall, we will build a palace of silver upon her; if she "be a door, we will enclose her with boards of cedar:"—our little Sister shall not be estranged from us, if it please God!

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* *Commons Journals*, vii. 579 : that is the Original,—reported by Widdrington next day. Burton (ii. 322), *Parliamentary History* (xxi. 170) are copies. [Also *Harley MS.*, 6801 f. 282 ; *A Further Narrative of the Passages*, etc., E. 1954 (4) ; *Mercurius Politicus* and *Public Intelligencer*, E. 748 (7 and 8) A newsletter in the *Clarke Papers* (vol. iii. p. 132) gives the following short sketch of the speech, by R. Hatter, who says he "took" it : "The substance of it was that he met them in that capacity by their Advice and Petition, acknowledging their great pains and industry to proceed so far to a settlement of our liberties both civil and religious, and took occasion to speak of the former part of the 85th Psalm, comparing God's mercies to us as to them of old. And also made mention of the former bad ministry and the good ministry which is now, and hoped the Lord would still go along with them, that by His assistance they might still be accounted the blessed of the Lord, to be made the repairer of breaches and the restorer of paths to dwell in. Concluding that he had some infirmities upon him whereby he could not continue to speak long, but had desired an honourable person (the Lord Fiennes) to discourse a little more particularly what might be more proper for that occasion and meeting.]

[1] Reported, *Commons Journals*, vii. 582-7, Monday 25th Jan. 1657-8.

There is, in truth, need enough of unanimity at present. One of these days, there came a man riding jogtrot through Stratford-at-the-Bow, with 'a green glazed cover over his hat,' a 'nightcap under it,' and 'his valise behind him;' a rustic-looking man; recognisable to *us*, amid the vanished populations who take no notice of him as he jogs along there,—for the Duke of Ormond, Charles Stuart's head man! He sat up, at Colchester, the night before, 'playing shuffleboard with some farmers, and drinking hot ale.' He is fresh from Flanders, and the Ex-King; has arrived here to organise the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, and see what Royalist Insurrection, or other domestic mischief there may be hopes of. Lodges now, 'with dyed hair,' in a much disguised manner, 'at the house of a Papist Chirurgeon in Drury Lane;' communicating with the ringleaders here.[1]

The Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on foot, and no fable. He has Four English-Irish Regiments; the low-minded Dutch, we understand, have hired him Two-and-twenty ships, which hope to escape our frigates some dark night; and Don John has promised a Spanish Army of Six-thousand or Ten-thousand, if the domestic Royalists will bestir themselves. Like the waves of the sea, that cannot rest; that have to go on, throwing up mire and dirt! Frantic-Anabaptists too are awakening; the general English Hydra is rallying itself again, as if to try it one other last time.

Foreign Affairs also look altogether questionable to a Protestant man. Swede and Dane in open war; inextricable quarrels bewildering the King of Sweden, King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, all manner of Foreign Protestants, whom Oliver never yet could reconcile; and the Dutch playing false; and the Spaniards, the Austrians, the Pope and Papists, too well united! —Need enough that this Parliament be unanimous.

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[1] Carte's *Ormond*, ii. 176-8.

The hopes of Oliver and Fiennes and all practicable Puritans may have naturally stood high at this meeting :—but if so, it was not many hours till they began fatally to sink. There exists also an *im*practicable set of Puritan men,—the old Excluded Members, introduced now, or now first admitted into this Parliament,—whom no beautifullest 'two firmaments' seen overspanning Chaos, no Spanish Invasion threatening to bring Chaos back, no hopefullest and no fearfullest phenomenon of Nature or Constitutional Art, will ever divorce from their one Republican Idea. Intolerability of the Single Person: this, and this only, will Nature in her dumb changes, and Art in her spoken Interpretations thereof, reveal to these men. It is their one Idea; which, in fact, they will carry with them to—the gallows at Charing Cross, when no Oliver any more is there to restrain it and them! Poor windy angry Haselrig, poor little peppery Thomas Scott—And yet these were not the poorest. Scott was only hanged: but what shall we say of a Luke Robinson, also very loud in this Parliament, who had to turn his coat that he might escape hanging? The history of this Parliament is not edifying to Constitutional men.[1]

SPEECH XVII

We said, the Two Houses, at least the First House, very ill fulfilled his Highness's expectations. Hardly had they got into their respective localities after his Highness's Opening Speech, when the New House, sending the Old a simple message about requesting his Highness to have a day of Fasting, there arose a

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[1] [The *Old Parliamentary History* remarks that at this time, by the readmission of the excluded members, the door was opened to about a hundred of Cromwell's most inveterate enemies; and also that when the Protector selected his ablest managers to form his new House of Lords, he had not taken care to supply their places with men equally attached to his interest. "These two circumstances quite changed the complexion of the House of Commons, and account for their endeavouring to overturn all that had been done for Cromwell's service, in the former Session. Historians charge Cromwell with the want of his usual sagacity in this particular; not considering that by the seventeenth Article of the Humble Petition of Advice, he was obliged to give his assent to that instrument without reserve. And consequently his submitting to such articles therein as were restrictions of his power, was the price of a legislative confirmation of his Protectorship. Besides, there was no way of recruiting the vacancies of the House of Commons but by the Speaker's issuing new writs for that purpose, which could not be done without the order of that House." *Parl. Hist.* xxi. p. 195.]

Debate as to What answer should be given; as to What 'name,' first of all, this said New House was to have,—otherwise what answer could you give? Debate carried on with great vigour; resumed, re-resumed day after day;—and never yet terminated; not destined to be terminated in this world! How eloquent were peppery Thomas Scott and others, lest we should call them a House of *Lords*,—not, alas, lest he the peppery Constitutional Debater, and others such, should lose their own heads, and entrust their Cause with all its Gospels to a new very curious Defender of the Faith! It is somewhat sad to see.

On the morning of Monday January 25th, the Writer of the Diary called *Burton's*—Nathaniel Bacon if that were he[1]—finds, on entering the House, Sir Arthur Haselrig on his feet there, saying, "Give me my Oath!" Sir Arthur, as we transiently saw, was summoned to the Peers House; but he has decided to sit *here*. It is an ominous symptom. After 'Mr. Peters' has concluded his morning exercise,[2] the intemperate Sir Arthur again demands, "Give me my Oath!"—"I dare not," answers Francis Bacon, the official person; Brother of the Diarist. But at length they do give it him; and he sits: Sir Arthur is henceforth here. And, on the whole, ought we not to call this pretended Peers House the 'Other House' merely? Sir Arthur, peppery Scott, Luke Robinson and Company, are clearly of that mind.[3]

However, the Speaker has a Letter from his Highness, summoning us all to the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, this afternoon at three; both Houses shall meet him there. There accordingly does his Highness, do both Houses and all the Official world make appearance. Gloomy Rushworth, Bacon,[4] and one 'Smythe,' with Notebooks in their hands, are there. His Highness, in the following large manful manner, looking before and after, looking abroad and at home, with true nobleness if we consider all things,—speaks :[1]—

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[1] [But see note on p. 17 above].

[2] Burton, ii. 347.

[3] [A newsletter of this week says, "The great debate about the title of the other House hangs still *in limine*. . . . I dread the issue; here are very strange spirits come amongst us, and there are daily more flocking in; there are 206 sworn and likely to be a full House, but how long lived I cannot say. The great Sir Arthur (notwithstanding his higher call) vouchsafed on Monday last to take his seat amongst the Commons. Lord Lambert, Sir Anthony Ashley Cowper, Col. Rossiter and Baron Thorpe came in at the same time. His Highness sent a letter to us on Monday morning desiring a meeting with both Houses that afternoon in the Banquetting House, where he made a very long and serious speech relating to the state of our affairs both at home and abroad, our dangers and necessities, inviting us to unite for preservation of the whole." *Carte MS.* ccxxxix. f. 461.]

[4] [*i.e.*, Burton. Smythe was clerk of the Commons, Scobell having gone to the "other House."]

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

(For *so* I must own you), in whom together with myself is vested the Legislative Power of these Nations!—The impression of the weight of those affairs and interests for which we are met together is such that I could not satisfy myself with a good conscience if I should not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the State of the Affairs of these Nations; together with the proposal of such remedies as may occur, to those dangers that are imminent upon us.

I conceive the Well-being, yea the Being of these Nations is now at stake; and if God bless this Meeting, our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us; if *otherwise*, I shall offer it to your judgment and considerations, by the time I have done, whether there be, as to *men*,[2] 'so much as' a possibility of discharging that Trust that is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these Nations! When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. [*His Highness, I think, looks earnest enough today. Oppressed with many things, and not in good health either. In those deep mournful eyes, which are always full of noble silent sorrow, of affection and pity and valour, what a depth today of thoughts that cannot be spoken! Sorrow enough, depth enough,—and this deepest attainable depth, to rest upon what "it shall please God Almighty" to do!*]

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[1] [The texts of this speech are more interesting than those of any other, and we know more about the reporting of it—Smythe took notes of it, and by the Speaker's request, Mr. Burton did so likewise, as, probably, Rushworth did also. As soon as the speech was over, these three met in Rushworth's lodging to "confer notes" and the result of a consultation of such experienced reporters ought to be a very good text indeed; at any rate for the earlier part. Unfortunately, towards the latter part, dusk coming on had prevented their being able to see to write, and the Protector himself was applied to, but professed his inability to help them. The speech was reported by the Speaker on the following Thursday morning, but was not printed so far as is known, nor is it in *Commons Journals.* But that is of little consequence, as the Copy reported by the Speaker, is amongst the *Portland MSS.* at Welbeck; and a still more interesting text is in the Sloane Collection at the British Museum. This would appear to be the draft from which the Portland text was copied, the former (as corrected) exactly agreeing with the latter. The draft is written on very large sheets of paper, and only on one side. There is one passage which shows the danger of mistakes arising from the use of shorthand; for the writers have evidently been perplexed whether they ought to write "such," or "those," and have crossed out and inserted each word twice. Now the sign in Shelton's shorthand for these two words is the same, only one is upright, and the other slants back a little. Besides these two texts we have one in the *Lansdowne MSS.* sent by Hartlib to Pell, and one in *Add. MSS.* 6125, these two resembling each other very closely. Both these were used by Burton (from whom Carlyle took his text) but he did not know of the others.]

[2] humanly speaking.

I reckon[1] this to be the great duty of my Place; as being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil; that so, by the advice of so grave[2] and wise a Council as this is that hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations,—the[3] good may be attained, and the evil, whatsoever it is, may be obviated. [*Truly!*] We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction on our hearts that *there is need* of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this!—I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been more fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you to have understood me in;—but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.

We have not been now four years and upwards in this Government, to be totally ignorant of the things that may be of the greatest concernment to us. [*No mortal thinks so, your Highness!*] Your dangers,—for that is the head of my speech,—are either with respect to Affairs Abroad and their difficulties, or to Affairs at Home and their difficulties. You are come as I may say, now, into the end[4] [*Which may but prove the new beginning!*] of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever Nation was engaged in. I had in my thoughts to have made this the method of my Speech: To wit To have let you see the things that hazard your Being, and 'those which hazard' your Well-being. But when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, that all things would resolve themselves into very Being![1] You are not a Nation, you will not be a Nation, if God strengthen you not to meet with these evils that are upon us!

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[1] [" look upon," *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]
[2] [" great," *ibid.*]
[3] [" that," *ibid.*]
[4] [" to understand," *ibid.*]

First, from Abroad: What are the Affairs, I beseech you, abroad? I thought the Profession of the Protestant Religion was a thing of Well-being; and truly, in a good sense, it is so, and it's no more: though it be a very high thing, it's but a thing of 'Well-being.' [*A Nation can still* BE, *even without Protestantism.*] But take it with all the complications of it, with all the concomitants[2] of it, with respect had to the Nations abroad, and I do believe that he that looks well about him, and considereth the state[3] of the Protestant Affairs all Christendom over; he must needs say and acknowledge that the greatest Design now on foot, in comparison of which all other Designs are but little[4] things, is, Whether the Christian world shall[5] be all Popery, or whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have 'a love to, and' a brotherly fellow-feeling of the interest of all the Protestant Christians in the world? [*Yes, your Highness; the raging sea shut out by your labour and valour and death-peril,—with what indifference do we now, safe at two-centuries distance, look back upon it, hardly audible so far off, ungrateful as we are!*] And he that strikes at but one species of a general[6] to make it nothing, strikes at all.

Is it not so now, that the Protestant Cause and Interest abroad is struck-at; and is, in opinion and apprehension, quite under foot trodden down? and judge with me a little, I beseech you, Whether it be so or no. And then, I pray you, will you consider how far *we* are concerned in that danger, as to 'our very' Being!

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[1] [This phrase is omitted in the *Lansdowne MS.*]

[2] ["circumstances," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[3] ["estate," *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[4] ["low," *ibid.*]

[5] ["should," *ibid.*]

[6] Means 'one limb of a body:' metaphysical metaphor.

We have known very well, we have known very well,[1] that that which is accounted the honest and religious Interest of this Nation, it was not[2] trodden under foot all at once, but by degrees,—that that Interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered in a night. It is at another rate now! For certainly this, in the general, 'is the fact:' The Papacy, and those that are the upholders of it, they have openly 'and' avowedly trodden God's people under foot, on that very notion and account, that they were Protestants. The money you parted-with in that noble Charity that was exercised with in this Nation, and the just sense that you had of those poor Piedmontese,[3] was satisfaction enough to yourselves of that.[4] 'That' as a precursory thing[5] if all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had[6] been cut off, and so an end of all. 'But' is that 'of Piedmont' all? No. Look but how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, 'both in Austria and Spain,' are armed and prepared to make themselves able to destroy the whole Protestant Interest.

Is not,—to begin there,—the King of Hungary, who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and is in the judgment of all men not only in possibility but [in] a certainty of the acquisition of it,—is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg, one of the Electors, 'as good as sure of the Emperorship?'[7] And no doubt but he will have three of the Episcopal Electors 'on his side,' and the Duke of Bavaria.[1] [*There are but Eight Electors in all; Hanover not yet made.*] Who will he 'then' have to contest with him abroad, for taking of the Empire of Germany out of his hands? And is not he the son of a Father whose principles, interest[2] and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country,—out of Bohemia, got with the sword; out of Moravia and Silesia? [*Ferdinand the Second, his Grandfather; yea, your Highness;—and brought the great Gustavus upon him in consequence. Not a good kindred, that!*] 'And' it is that which is the daily complaints that come over to us,[3]—'new reiterations' some of which we have but received within this two or three days,[4] being conveyed by some godly Ministers in the City, That they 'the Protestants' are tossed out of Poland into the Empire;[5] [and][6] out thence whither they can [fly to][6] get their bread; and [are][6] ready to perish for want of food.

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[1] [These words are repeated in all the texts except the *Lansdowne MS.*]

[2] [" It was that that was not," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[3] [" Piedmonts," *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[4] proof enough that you believed.

[5] [These last four words were omitted by Carlyle, but they are in all the texts.]

[6] [" It had," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[7] Emperor Ferdinand III., under whom the Peace of Westphalia was made, had died this [last] year; his second son, Leopold, on the death of the first son, had been made King of Hungary in 1655; he was, shortly after this, elected Emperor,

'And' what think you of that other side of Europe, to wit, Italy, if I may call it the other side[7] of Europe, as I think I may,

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Leopold I., and reigned till 1705. 'Brandenburg' was Frederick William; a distinguished Prince; father of the First King of Prussia; Frederick the Great's great-grandfather; properly the Founder of the Prussian Monarchy.

[1] [Bamfield had written from Paris the previous April, immediately upon hearing of the Emperor's death, that the arch-duke Leopoldus would certainly have for him the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, while the Duke of Saxony (if, as the report goes, he has turned Catholic) would as certainly have the Electors of Triers and Mentz "and his own voice will be three." The two doubtful ones, he considered, were the Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatine. In the following October, another letter of intelligence announced that the Duke of Brandenburg had "for certain" promised his voice to the King of Hungary, and on Jan. 2, 1658, Lockhart wrote that the Elector of Mentz had declared for him, and that his election was supposed to be certain. Oliver evidently believed that he had also gained the Elector of Triers. This was not so certain; but at any rate the Bishop had just at this time coolly pocketed a large sum of money sent to him from France for the use of the opposite party. (Thurloe, vi. 196, 547, 726, 754.) "Three of the" should be "the three" episcopal Electors, as there were no more. The arch-duke of Austria was himself the eighth Elector, as King of Bohemia.]

[2] ["principal interest," *Lansdowne MS.*]

[3] [On this subject, see the Pell Papers, of which an excellent selection is printed in Vaughan's *Protectorate*. See also letters in Thurloe, etc.]

[4] ["these two days," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[5] ["In consequence of the retreat of Charles X. from Poland.]

[6] [The words in brackets omitted in *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[7] ["a side," *ibid.*]

—'Italy,' Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, 'the' Piedmonts afore mentioned, the Switzers? They all,—what are they but a prey of[1] the Spanish power and interest? [And look][2] to that that calls itself [*Neuter gender*] the head of all this! A Pope, fitted,—I hope indeed born not *in* but out of due time, to accomplish this bloody work; that so he may fill up his cup to the brim, and make him'self' ripe for judgment! [*Somewhat grim of look, your Highness!*] He doth as always he hath done. He hath influenced all the Powers, and all the Princes in Europe to this very thing [*Rooting-out of the Protestants.—The sea which is now scarcely audible to us, two safe centuries off, how it roars and devouringly rages while this Valiant One is heroically bent to bank it in!—He prospers, he does it, flings his life into the gap,—that* WE *for all coming centuries may be safe and ungrateful!*];—and no man like this present man.[3] So that, I beseech you, what is there in all that part, what is there in the other part[4] of Europe but a consent 'a' coöperating, at this very time and season,[5] 'of all Popish Powers' to suppress everything that stands in their way? [*A grave epoch indeed.*]

But it may be said, "This is a great way off, in the extremest parts of it;[6] what is that to us?"—If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you, and it concerns all your religion, and all the good interest of Europe.[7]

I have, I thank God, considered, 'and' I would beg of you to consider a little more with me: What that resistance is that is likely to be made to this mighty torrent[8] that is like to be coming from all parts upon all[1] Protestants? Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this great design?[2] A poor Prince [*Charles X. King of Sweden; at present attacked by the King of Denmark; the Dutch also aiming at him*];—indeed poor; but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I may say as good, as any these late ages have brought forth;[3] a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish Interest in Poland, and made his acquisition still good 'there' for the Protestant Religion. He is now reduced into a corner: and that [which][4] addeth to the grief of all, and more 'grievous' than all that hath been spoken [of][4] before (I wish it may not be too truly said!) —'is,' That men of our Religion forget that, and seek his ruin. [*Dutch and Danes: but do not some of us too forget? "I wish it may not be too truly said!"*]

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[1] ["to," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[2] [These words omitted in *ibid.*]

[3] Alexander VII.; 'an able Pope,' Dryasdust informs me. [*Cf.* vol. ii. 524.]

[4] [*Portland MS.*; "in all the other parts," *Sloane MS.*; "in all the parts," *Lansdowne MS.*; "in all that part," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[5] ["with them," *ibid.*; "to them," *Lansdowne MS.*]

[6] [Carlyle altered to "parts of the world," but "it" here means Europe.]

[7] [Carlyle altered to "England," but all the texts have Europe.]

[8] ["current," *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

And I beseech you consider a little; consider[5] the consequences of 'all' that! For what doth all this signify? Is it only a noise? Or hath it 'not withal'[6] an articulate sound with it? Men that are not true to that Religion we profess,—'profess,' I am persuaded, with greater truth, uprightness and sincerity than it is 'professed' by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these Nations are, in all the world,—God will find them out! [*The low-minded Dutch; pettifogging for "Sound Dues," for "Possession of the Sound," and mere shopkeeper lucre!*] I beseech you consider how things do coöperate. 'Consider,' If this may seem but to be a design against your Well-being? It is 'a design' against your very Being though; this artifice, and this complex design, against the Protestant Interest,—wherein so many Protestants are not so right as were to be wished! If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your Trade? Where are your materials to preserve your Shipping? or where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design! I do believe, if you will go to ask the poor mariner in his red cap and coat [*"Coat," I hope, is not "red:"—but we are in haste*], as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you. So obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And in my conscience, I know not for what else 'you are so' but because of the purity of the profession amongst you; who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before your[1] godliness [*Whatever certain Dutch and Danes may do!*], but reckon godliness the *greater* gain!

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[1] ["upon all the poor," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[2] [Altered by Carlyle to "this danger," but as above in all the texts.]

[3] [For the Protector's relations with Charles X. see Gardiner's *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 430 *et seq.*]

[4] [These words omitted in *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[5] [The last three words omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[6] ["hath it only," *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

But should it so happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whatsoever,—I name no one state upon this head, [*Do not name the Dutch, with their petti-foggings for the Sound; no!*] but I think all acknowledge States *are* engaged in this combination,—judge you where you are! You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great Ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your Ditch, nor your Shipping,—unless you turn your Ships and Shipping into Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; and fight to defend yourselves in *terra firma!*—

And these things stated,[2] *liberavi animam meam;* I have told you of it, and if there be no danger in 'all' this, I have satisfied myself. I have told you. If you will judge it no danger;[3] if you will think, We may discourse of all things at pleasure,—[*Debate for days and weeks, Whether it shall be "House of Lords" or "Other House;" put the question, Whether this question shall be put; and say Ay, say No; and thrash the air with idle jargon!*]—'and' that it is a time of sleep and ease and rest, without 'any' due sense of these things,—I have this comfort to God-ward:

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[1] [This word omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[2] ["if these things saved," in all the texts except the *Sloane MS.* which has "if these things succeed."]

[3] ["judge if no danger," *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

I have told you of it [*Yes, your Highness !—O intemperate vain Sir Arthur, peppery Thomas Scott, and ye other constitutional Patriots, is there no* SENSE *of truth in you, then ; no discernment of what really is what ? Instead of belief and insight, have you nothing but whirlpools of old paper-clippings, and a grey waste of Parliamentary constitutional logic ? Such* HEADS *too common in the world, will run a chance in these times to get themselves—stuck up on Temple Bar !*]

And really were it not that France (give me leave to say it) is a balance to this Party at this time— ! —Should there be a Peace made (that hath been, and is still laboured and aimed-at, a General Peace), then will England be the general object of all the fury and wrath of all the Enemies of God and our Religion in the world ! I have nobody to accuse ;—but do but look on the other side of the water ! You have neighbours there ; some that you are in amity with ; some that have professed malice enough against you. I think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends,—that is, believe your enemy, and trust *him* that he means your ruin, 'rather' than have confidence in some that perhaps may be in some alliance with you ! [*We have watched the Dutch, and their dealings in the Baltic lately !*]—I perhaps could enforce[1] all this with some particulars, nay I 'certainly' could. For you know that your enemies be the same that have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Elizabeth came to the crown. An avowed designed enemy 'all along ;' wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom, and prudence, to root[2] you out of the face of the Earth : and when public attempts [*Spanish Armadas and such like*] would not do, how have they, by the Jesuits and other their Emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our Government by taking away the lives of them that they judged to be of any use to preserve your peace ! [*Guy Faux and Jesuit Garnet were a pair of pretty men ; to go no farther. Ravaillac in the Rue de la*

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[1] ["infer," *Lansdowne MS.*]

[2] [Only the *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.* spell it so. The other texts have "rout," but probably meaning as above.]

Ferronerie, and Stadtholder William's Jesuit; and the Night of St. Bartholomew: here and elsewhere they have not wanted "counsel," of a sort!] And at this time I ask you, Whether you do not think they are designing as busily as ever any people were, to prosecute the same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business was *then:* The Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory for their protection. They had it, 'had protection from her.' I hope they will never ill requite it! For if they should forget either the kindness that was then showed them (which was their real safety), or the desires this Nation hath had to be at peace with them,—truly I believe whoever exercised any ingratitude in this sort will hardly prosper in it. [*He cannot, your Highness: unless* GOD *and His* TRUTH *be a mere Hearsay of the market, he never can!*] But this may awaken you; howsoever, I hope you will be awakened, upon all these considerations! It is true, it is true,[1] they [*These Dutch*] have professed a principle that, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. They will do so. [And truly that principle is not a matter in dispute at this time, 'we are not here to argue with them about it:' only let everything weigh with your spirits as it ought;—let it do so.][2] And we must tell you, that we do know that this, 'of their having such a principle,' is *true.* I dare assure you of it; and[3] I think if your Exchange here 'in London' were but resorted-to, it would let you know, as much as you can desire to know, That they have hired sloops—I think they call them, or some other name,—they have hired sloops, 'let sloops on hire,' to transport upon you Four-thousand Foot and one Thousand Horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's Son. [*What a designation for "Charles by the grace of God!" The "was" may possibly have been "is" when spoken; but we cannot afford to change it.*] And this is, I think, a thing far from being reckonable as a suggestion to any ill end or purpose:—a thing to no other end[1] than to awaken you to a just consideration of your danger, and to unite [you] to a just and natural defence.

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[1] [Altered to "It is certain" by Carlyle, but as above in all the texts.]
[2] [This passage omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*]
[3] [" and that, that I think," *all the texts.*]

Indeed I never did, I hope I never shall, use any artifice with you to pray you to help us with money to defend ourselves: but if money be needful, I will tell you, "Pray[2] help us with money, that the Interest of the[3] Nation may be defended both abroad and at home." I will use no arguments; and thereby will disappoint the artifice of false[4] men abroad that say, It is for money; whosoever shall think to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion.—[*His fate may be guessed; but the Sentence is off*] For you will find I will be very plain with you before I have done; and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these Nations.

If this be the condition of 'your' affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate[5] of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations, 'of home affairs and foreign,' have but this effect, to *get*[6] a consideration among you, a due and just consideration,—let God move your hearts for the answering[7] of anything that shall be due to the Nation, as He shall please! And I hope I shall not be solicitous [*The "artifice" and "money" of the former paragraph still sounding somewhat in his Highness's ears*]; I shall look up to Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you look to your own affairs at home, how they stand! I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you 'are' all, very honest and worthy good men; and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would! We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame to us that we are so;[1]—but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, and the interest of it. [*Truly!*]—But, I beseech you, what is our case at home?— —I profess I do not know well where to begin, at this head, or where to end,—I do not. But I must needs say, Let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you 'upon.' We are as full of calamities and divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, 'as we could well be,'—though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, 'still' in peace! And the fighting that we have had, and the success[2] we have had—yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to the world! And take us in that temper we are in, or rather 'in that' distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell the sons of men, 'that we are got again to peace'—

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[1] ["a thing so far from being reckoned a suggestion to any ill end or purpose, or to any other end," *all the texts.*]

[2] ["I pray you help us," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[3] ["this," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[4] [Carlyle altered to "bad."]

[5] ["state," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[6] ["beget," *Sloane MS.*]

[7] performing on such demand.

['Beautiful great Soul,' exclaims a modern Commentator here, 'Beautiful great Soul; to whom the Temporal is all irradi-'ated with the Eternal, and God is everywhere divinely visible 'in the affairs of men, and man himself has as it were become 'divine! O ye eternal Heavens, have those days and those souls 'passed away without return?—Patience: intrinsically they can 'never pass away: intrinsically they remain with us; and will 'yet, in nobler unexpected form, reappear among us,—if it please 'Heaven! There *have been* Divine Souls in England; England 'too, poor moiling toiling heavyladen thickeyed England has 'been illuminated, though it were but once, by the Heavenly 'ones;—and *once*, in a sense, is always!']

—'that we are got again to peace.' And whoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty root[3] that man out of this Nation! And He will do it, let the pretences be what they will! He will.[4] [*Privilege of Parliament, or whatever else, my peppery friends!*]

[1] [Carlyle altered to "that we are Englishmen."]
[2] ["successes," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]
[3] [So in *ibid.* The other texts have "rout."]
[4] [The last two words in *ibid.* only.]

'Peace-breakers, do they consider what it *is* they are driving towards? They should do it!' He that considereth not the woman with child,—the sucking children of this Nation that know not the right hand from the left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said this City is as full as it is said of Nineveh of old;[1]—he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come out of the bodies of those now living added to these; he that considereth not these, must have a Cain's heart, who was marked, and made to be an enemy to all men, and all men enemies to him! For the wrath and justice of God will prosecute such a man to his grave, if not to Hell! [*Where is Sam Cooper, or some 'prince of limners,' to take us that look of his Highness? I would give my ten best Historical Paintings for it, gilt frames and twaddle-criticisms into the bargain!*]—I say, look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the variety[2] of Interests in this Nation,—if they be worthy the name of Interests.[3] If God did not hinder, all would but make up a confusion. We shall find there will be more than one Cain in England,[4] if God did not restrain, and we should have another more bloody Civil War than ever we had in England. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect[5] of people,—if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a Religious account or upon a Civil account—[*Sentence gone; meaning left clear enough*]—Is not this Nation miserable in that respect? What is that which possesseth[6] every sect? What is it? That every sect may be uppermost! That every sort of men may get the power into their hands, and they would use it well;—[that every sect may get the power into their hands!][7] [*A reflection to make one wonder.—Let them thank God they have got a man able*

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[1] [Last two words omitted in *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[2] ["varieties of interest," *Lansdowne MS.*]

[3] [These eight words omitted in *ibid.*]

[4] [Carlyle altered to "we should find there would be but one Cain," which is nonsense. Cromwell is evidently thinking of the chance of brother fighting against brother, in civil war.]

[5] [All the texts have "sort," but the context would seem to demand "sect."]

[6] ["professeth," *Lansdowne MS.*]

[7] [omitted in *ibid.*]

to bit and bridle them a little; the unfortunate, peppery, loud-babbling individuals,—with so much good in them too, while 'bitted!']

It were a happy thing if the Nation would be content with rule. 'Content with rule,' if it were but in Civil things, 'and' with those that would rule *worst*;—because misrule is better than no rule; and an ill Government, a bad one, is better than none!—It is not that only: but we have an appetite to variety; to be not only making wounds, but 'widening those already made,' as if we should see one making wounds in a man's side, and would desire nothing more than to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those wounds! This is what 'such' men would be at; this is the spirit of those that would trample on men's liberties in Spiritual respects. They would be making wounds, and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they are. Is not this the case? Doth there want anything—I speak not of sects in an ill sense; but the Nation is hugely made up of them,—and what is the want that prevents these things from being done[1] to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. 'There wants nothing else.' And, I beseech you, judge what such a company of men, of these sorts, are doing, while they are contesting one with another! They are contesting in the midst of a generation of men (a malignant Episcopal Party, I mean); contesting in the midst of these *all united*. What must be the issue of such a thing as this? 'So stands it;' it is *so*.—And do but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men. [*Republican spirits: we took a "Standard" lately, a Painted one, and a Printed, with wondrous apparatus behind it!*] Summoning men together to take up arms; and exhorting men, each sort of them, to fight[2] for their notions; every sort thinking they are to try it out by the sword; and every sort thinking

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[1] ["the want, that these things are not done," *all the texts.*]

[2] ["and to exhort each sort to fight," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*; "and to exhort each other to fight," *Add. MS.* 6125; "and to exhort each sort to fight for their nations," *Lansdowne MS.*]

'that' *they* are truly under the banner of Christ, if they but come in, and bind themselves in such a project![1]

Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor Nation is in. *This* is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what a hard condition this poor Nation is in, and the Cause of God 'is in,'—in the midst of such a party of men as the Cavaliers are, and their participants! Not only with respect to what these—[*"Cavaliers and their Participants," both equally at first, but it becomes the latter chiefly, and at length exclusively, before the Sentence ends*]—are like to do among themselves: but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal: [*Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, dead the other day, he was not very careful!*]—nay, some of these have invited[2] the Spaniard himself to assist and carry on the Cavalier Cause.

And this is *true.*[3] 'This' and many other things that are not fit [now][4] to be suggested to you; because 'so' we should betray the interest of our intelligence. [*Spy-Royalist Sir Richard Willis and the like ambiguous persons, if we show them in daylight, they vanish forever,—as Manning, when they shot him in Newburg, did.*] I say, this is your condition! What is [in][4] your defence? What hindereth the irruption of all this upon you irresistibly, to your utter destruction? Truly, 'that' you have an Army in these parts,—in England, in Scotland and Ireland. Take *them* away tomorrow, would not all these Interests run into one another?—I know you are rational [and][4] prudent men. Have you any Frame or Model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if *this* be not the Frame, 'this' that you are now called together upon, and engaged in,—I mean, the Two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this Nation from being made an Aceldama, 'a field of blood,' if this doth not? It is, without doubt, 'this': give the glory, give the glory to God; for without this, it would prove[1] as great a plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this, without doubt, that keeps this Nation in peace and quietness.—But what is the case of this Army 'withal?' A poor unpaid Army; the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather![2] [*Twenty-fifth of January.*] And yet a peaceable people, [an honest people][3] 'these soldiers;' seeking to serve you with their lives; judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the Peace of these Nations! Yea, he must be a man that hath a heart as hard as the weather that hath not a due sense of this! [*A severe frost, though the Almanacs do not mention it.*]— —

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[1] 'and oblige upon this account,' in *orig.*

[2] ["united," *Portland MS.;* perhaps should be "united with," but probably a copyist's error, as *Sloane MS.* has "invited."]

[3] ["and that this is true," *all the texts.*]

[4] [*Portland MS.*]

So that, I say, it is most plain and evident, this is your outward and present defence. [*This frame of Government; the Army is a part of that.*] And yet, at this day,—do but you judge! The Cavalier Party, 'and' the several humours of unreasonable men 'of other sorts,' in these[4] several ways, having 'continually' made batteries at this defence ever since you enjoyed your peace —[*Sentence catches fire*]— —What have they made their business but this, 'To' spread libellous Books; [*Their "Standard," "Killing no Murder," and other little fiddling things belonging to that sort of Periodical Literature*] yea and pretend the Liberty of the people—[*Sentence gone again*]—?—which really wiser men 'than they' may pretend! For let me say this to you at once; I never look to see the People of England come into a just Liberty, if any other 'Civil' War should overtake us. I think, 'I' at least, that that is likely[5] to bring us into our Liberty is a consistency and agreement at this Meeting!—Therefore all that I can say to you is this: It will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice, to keep this Interest[6] close to you; to uphold this

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[1] 'it would prove' is an *im*personal verb; such as 'it will rain,' and the like.

[2] [The Protector himself came to the rescue of his poor soldiers. In the schedule given in by Richard Cromwell to Parliament in 1659 one item is 3,700*l.* for buying coats for the soldiers in wintry weather. See *Commons Journals*, May 25, 1659.]

[3] [*Portland MS.*]

[4] ["their," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[5] [So in *ibid.*, "that that that is" in the other texts.]

[6] [Altered to "that concernment" by Carlyle.]

Settlement 'now fallen-upon,' which I have no cause to think but you are agreed to; and that you like it. For I assure you I am very greatly mistaken else, 'for my own part;' having taken this which is now the Settlement among us as my chief inducement to bear[1] the burden I bear, and to serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in!

And therefore if you judge that 'all' this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger—?—'A danger' which 'all manner of considerations,' besides good-nature and ingenuity 'themselves,' would move a stone[2] to be sensible of!—therefore give us[3] leave to consider a little, What will become of us, if our spirits should go *otherwise*, 'and break this Settlement?' If our spirits be dissatisfied, what will become of things? Here is an Army five or six months behind in pay; yea, an Army in Scotland near as much 'behind;' an Army in Ireland much more. 'And' if these things be not considered,[4]—I cannot doubt but they will be considered;—I say, judge what the case of Ireland is, should free-quarter come upon the Irish People! [*Free-quarter must come, if there be no pay provided, and that soon!*] You have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, 'Forty or Fifty thousand of them settled there;' that, I hope, are honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish transported to the West.[5] You have the Interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there, 'in these English settlements,' are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the soldiers[6] run upon free-quarters there,—upon your English Planters, as they must,—the English Planters must quit the country through mere beggary: and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that Country into your hands, what will be the consequence, but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the Irish must possess the country 'again' for a receptacle to a [popish and][1] Spanish Interest?—

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[1] ["mistaken else to think that that which is now the settlement among us is that which hath been my inducement to bear," *all the texts.*]

[2] ["which, besides, good nature and ingenuity would move a stone." Carlyle believes Cromwell to use "besides" in the sense of "as well as," but he probably means "moreover," *i.e.*, "your danger, which (moreover) good nature, etc."]

[3] ["me," *Portland MS.*]

[4] [These words omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*

[5] "All the Irish;" all the Malignant Irish, the ringleaders of the Popish Rebellion: Galway is here called 'Galloway.'

[6] ["soldiery," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*; "soldier," *Lansdowne MS.*]

And hath Scotland been long settled? [*Middleton's Highland Insurrection, with its Mosstroopery and misery, is not dead three years yet.*][2] Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly. In good earnest, I do think the Scots Nation have been under as great a suffering, in point of livelihood and subsistence outwardly, as any People I have yet named to you. I do think truly they are a very ruined Nation. [*Torn to pieces with now near Twenty Years of continual War, and foreign and intestine worrying with themselves and with all the world.*]—'And' yet in a way (I have spoken with some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful enough yet;—it hath pleased God to give that plentiful encouragement to the meaner sort—I must say the meaner sort[3] —in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort—[*The consequences may be foreseen, but are not stated here.*]— —The meaner sort 'in Scotland' live as well, and are[4] likely to come into as thriving a condition under your Government, as when they were under their 'own' great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the Peasants of France. I am loath to speak anything that may reflect upon that Nation: but the middle sort of this people grow up 'there' into such a substance[5] as makes their lives comfortable, if not better than they were before. [*Scotland is prospering; has fair-play and ready-money; prospering though sulky.*]

If now, after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs that are in the midst of us: of the *united* Cavaliers; of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain; if we have to look upon ourselves[1] as a *divided* people—[*Sentence off*]—A man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England! Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy of the name of the body of consistency, but in this Company that are met here! How can any man[2] lay his hand on his heart, and 'permit himself to' talk of things,—[*Roots of Constitutional Government, "Other House," "House of Lords" and such like*] neither to be made out by the light of Scripture nor 'of' Reason; and draw one another off from considering 'of' *these* things,—'which are very palpable things!' I dare leave them with you, and commit them to your bosom. They have a weight,—a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you, from abroad or at home![3] If this be our case abroad and at home, That our Being and Well-being,—our Well-being is not worth the naming comparatively,—I say, if that be the case, of our Being abroad and at home, That through want to bear up our Honour at Sea, and through want to maintain that that is our Defence at Home, 'we stand exposed to such dangers;' and if[4] through our mistake we shall be led off 'from' the[5] consideration of these things; and talk of circumstantial things, and quarrel about circumstances; and shall not with heart and soul intend and carry-on these things— !—I confess I can look for nothing 'other,' I can say no more than what a foolish Book[6] expresseth in print of one that having consulted everything, he could hold to nothing, like nothing;

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[1] [Carlyle omitted these two words, but they are in all the texts.]

[2] Feb. 1654-5 (Whitlocke, p. 599).

[3] [*Add. MS.* 6125, which was the text followed by Burton, omitted this phrase, as does therefore Carlyle.]

[4] ["as likely," *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.*]

[5] ["subsistence," *ibid.*]

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[1] [So in *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.;* "shall look," *Lansdowne MS.* and *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[2] [" how should that man lay his hand on his heart and not talk of things," *all the texts.*]

[3] [Here the small volume, *Add. MS.* 6125 ends, with a note that "there being not room enough to write what remains of this speech, you shall find the remainder of it in the third book, at the beginning." Unfortunately the third book, like the first, is wanting; but as regards this speech, this is the least important of any of the texts. Moreover we are probably now reaching the point when it was too dark to write, so that no text is very trustworthy.]

[4] [" but that," *all the texts.*]

[5] [" our," *Lansdowne MS.*]

[6] Now rotting probably, or rotten, among the other Pamphletary rubbish, in the crypts of Public Dryasdust Collections,—all but this one phrase of it, here kept alive.

neither Fifth-Monarchy, nor Presbytery, nor Independency[1] nothing; but at length concluded, he was for nothing but an orderly confusion! And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits,—I speak of men going about[2] that cannot tell *what* they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others—! [*An "orderly confusion," and general fire-consummation: what else is possible?*]

And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you, in making this demonstration,—and I profess to you, not as a rhetorician! My business to you is[3] to prove the verity of the Designs from Abroad; and 'the' still unsatisfied spirits of 'the' Cavaliers at Home,—who from the first of our Peace to this day have not been wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. 'And' I say, if this be so, the truth,—I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it! [*Yea!*] And give you one heart and mind to carry on this work for which we are met together! If these things be so,—should you meet tomorrow, and accord in all things tending to your [preservation of your][4] rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed 'already' to deliver yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you!—

We have had now Six Years of Peace,—we have had four score years peace[5]—and have had an interruption of ten years *War*. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of it, and now God hath given us a new taste of the comfort and benefit of Peace. Have you not had such a Peace in England, Ireland and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? [*Hah!*] Shall we now be prodigal of time?

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[1] ["Independent," *Lansdowne MS.*]

[2] ["men abroad," *all the texts.*]

[3] [The last three words omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[4] [The words in brackets omitted in *Portland MS.*]

[5] [This last phrase is in *Portland* and *Sloane MSS.* only, but it explains the use of the word "interruption" afterwards. Oliver is not correct in his figures, however, as he cannot be counting from earlier than 1588.]

Should any man, shall *we*, listen to delusions, to break and interrupt this Peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this cause, as I believe you have been all, that can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in the world! [*Peppery Scott's hot head will go up on Temple Bar, and Haselrig will do well to die soon.*][1]—I wonder then how it can enter into the heart of any[2] man to undervalue these things; to slight Peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercies of God. We have Peace and the Gospel! [*What a tone!*] Let us have one heart, one soul, one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this Nation;—not to *pretend* 'to' them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of the Nation! [*As yet there is one Hero-heart among you, ye blustering contentious rabble; one Soul blazing as a light-beacon in the midst of Chaos, forbidding Chaos yet to be supreme. In a little while that too will be extinct; and then!*] Really, pretend what you will, if you run into *another* flood of blood and War, the sinews of this Nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before Him, be sensible of these things and lay them to heart! You have a Day of Fasting coming on. I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth; and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all Dissension! And 'may' look upon them 'who would sow dissension,' whosoever they 'may' be, as Paul saith to the Church of Corinth,[3] as I remember: "*Mark* such men as cause divisions and offences," and would disturb you from that foundation of Peace you are upon, upon any pretence whatsoever!—

I shall conclude with this. I was free, the last time of our meeting, to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm; and I did.[4]

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[1] He died in the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1660 itself, say the *Baronetages*. Worn to death, it is like, by the frightful vicissitudes and distracting excitement of those sad months.

[2] [This word omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[3] Not 'Corinth' properly, but Rome (Romans xvi. 17).

[4] The Eighty-fifth; *antea*, pp. 152 *et seqq.*

I am not ashamed of it at any time, [*Why should you, your Highness? A word that does speak to us from the eternal heart of things, "word of God" as you well call it, is highly worth discoursing upon!*] —especially when I meet with men of such a consideration as you are. There you have one verse that I then forgot. "I will "hear what the Lord will speak: He will speak peace to His "people, and to His saints; that they turn not again to *folly*."[1] Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor Nation under a Civil War,—having all the effects of a Civil War upon it! Indeed if we return again to folly, let every man consider, If it be *not* like to be[2] our destruction? If God shall unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another; and tread down everything that riseth up in your hearts or tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this and that thing, that we may speak of,[3]—[*The Sentence began as a positive, "if God shall;" but gradually turning on its axis, it has now got quite round into the negative side*]—and not prefer the keeping of Peace, that we may see the fruit of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace,—it will be said of this poor Nation, *Actum est de Anglia*, 'It is all over with England!'[4]

But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live, and I am able, I shall be ready—

[Courage, my brave one! Thou hast but some Seven Months more of it, and then the ugly coil is all over; and thy part in it manfully done; manfully and fruitfully, to all Eternity! Peppery Scott's hot head can mount to Temple Bar, whither it is bound; and England, with immense expenditure of liquor and tarbarrels, can call in its Nell-Gwyn Defender of the Faith, —and make out a very notable Two-hundred Years under *his* guidance; and, finding itself now nearly *got* to the Devil, may perhaps pause, and recoil, and remember: who knows? Nay who cares? may Oliver say. *He* is honourably quit of it, he for one; and the Supreme Powers will guide farther according to their pleasure.]

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[1] [Carlyle altered to the exact wording of the Authorised Version.]

[2] [Carlyle altered to "like turning to."]

[3] [Carlyle altered to "as we have been saying."]

[4] [The translation, it will be noted, is added by Carlyle. Oliver's hearers certainly would not need it.]

—I shall be ready to stand and fall with you, in this seeming dissipate or promising Union[1] 'which God hath wrought among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. I have taken my Oath [*In Westminster Hall, Twenty-sixth of June last*] to govern according to the Laws that are now made and to be made;[2] and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. [*Who would have "sought" it, that could have as nobly avoided it? Very scurvy creatures only. The "place" is no great things, I think;—with either Heaven or else Hell so close upon the rear of it, a man might do without the "place!" Know all men, Oliver Cromwell did not seek this place, but was sought to it, and led and driven to it, by the Necessities, the Divine Providences, the Eternal Laws.*] I speak it before God, Angels, and men: I DID NOT. You sought me for it, and you brought me to it; and I took my Oath to be faithful to the Interest of these Nations, to be faithful to this Government. All those things were implied,[3] in my eye,[4] in that Oath "to be faithful to this Government" upon which we are now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my Oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall,—I must! —see it done, according to the Articles of the Government, [that thereby liberty of conscience may be secured for honest people, that they may serve God without fear][5]; that every just Interest may be preserved; that a Godly Ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take my oath, and swear to this Government!—[*And mean to continue administering it withal.*] —And so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray, God Almighty bless you.*

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[1] The new Frame of Government.

[2] [Last four words omitted in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[3] ["implicit," *in texts.*]

[4] [At this point the *Sloane MS.* comes to an end, as the last sheet is wanting.]

[5] [The words in brackets were omitted by Carlyle.]

His Highness, a few days after, on occasion of some Reply to a Message of his 'concerning the state of the Public Moneys,'[1]—was formally requested by the Commons to furnish them with a Copy of this Speech:[2] he answered that he did not remember four lines of it in a piece, and that he could not furnish a Copy.[3] Some Copy would nevertheless have been got up, had the Parliament continued sitting. Rushworth, Smythe, and 'I' (the Writer of *Burton's Diary*), we, so soon as the Speech was done, went to York House; Fairfax's Town-house, where Historical John, brooding over endless Paper-masses, and doing occasional Secretary work, still lodges: here at York House we sat together till late, 'comparing Notes of his Highness's Speech;' could not finish the business that night, our Notes being a little cramp. It was grown quite dark before his Highness had done; so that we could hardly see our pencils go, at the time.[4]

The Copy given here is from the *Pell Papers*, and in part from an earlier Original;[5] first printed by Burton's Editor; and now reproduced, with slight alterations of the pointing &c., such as were necessary here and there to bring out the sense, but not such as could change anything that had the least title to remain unchanged.

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* Burton, ii. 351-71. [(From *Add. MS.* 6125, f. 82 and *Lansdowne MS.*, 754, f. 330). Also *Portland MS.* xvi. 143, and *Sloane MS.* 2905. *Add. MS.* 6125 comes to an abrupt end in the middle of the speech, and the last sheet of the *Sloane MS.* is missing, but the other two carry us to the end.]

[1] [See letter to the Speaker; Supplement, No. 137 (1).]

[2] Thursday, 28th Jan. 1657-8 (*Parliamentary History*, xxi. 196; Burton, ii. 379).

[3] [See Supplement, No. 137 (2), for the short report of this speech, which was chiefly a protest against the Commons acting apart from the "other House."]

[4] Burton, ii. 351. [The speech was reported on the following Thursday (*Commons Journals*, vii. 589). "It was so long that we could not get it ready to report it next morning," Burton says.]

[5] [It is difficult to say why Carlyle calls the report in *Add. MS.* 6125 "an earlier original," as the copy sent to Pell was despatched forthwith, while the other is one of a collection, probably written out some little time afterwards.]

SPEECH XVIII

His Highness's last noble appeal, the words as of a strong great Captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck, produced no adequate effect. The dreary Debate, supported chiefly by intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and future-renegade Robinson, went on, trailing its slow length day after day; daily widening itself, too, into new dreariness, new questionability: a kind of pain to read even at this distance, and with view of the intemperate hot heads actually *stuck* on Temple Bar! For the man in 'green oilskin hat with nightcap under it,' the Duke of Ormond namely, who lodges at the Papist Chirurgeon's in Drury Lane, is very busy all this while.[1] And Fifth-Monarchy and other Petitions are getting concocted in the City, to a great length indeed;—and there are stirrings in the Army itself;—and, in brief, the English Hydra, cherished by the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, will shortly hiss sky-high again, if this continue!

As yet, however, there stands one strong Man between us and that issue. The strong man gone, that issue, we may guess, will be inevitable; but he is not yet gone. For ten days more the dreary Debate has lasted. Various good Bills and Notices of Bills have been introduced; attempts on the part of well-affected Members to do some useful legislation here;[2] attempts which could not be accomplished. What could be accomplished was, to open the fountains of constitutional logic, and debate this question day after day. One or two intemperate persons, not excluded at the threshold, are of great moment in a Popular Assembly. The mind of which, if it have any mind, is one of the vaguest entities; capable, in a very singular degree, of being made to ferment, to freeze, to take fire, to develop itself in this shape or in that! The history of our Second Session, and indeed of these Oliverian Parliaments generally, is not exhilarating to the constitutional mind!—

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[1] [Morland, writing to Pell on Jan. 27, says, "The Parliament have done nothing as yet, save only they have somewhat disagreed about having and owning the House of Lords: but it's hoped that will be blown over. . . . The Royalists are high, and threaten sudden action, but I hope an evil foreseen may be an evil prevented." (*Lansdowne MS.* 754, 334). About the end of January, according to a letter amongst the *Sutherland MSS.*, the Protector had sent for the Lord Mayor "to demand a certain sum of the city, who said they were so poor that they were forced to go from door to door to beg contributions for the relief of their poor. . . . The Protector told him, for all that, if he would not undertake to procure him money, he knew how to do it himself, and so parted." S. Charlton to Sir R. Leveson; *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 166.]

[2] *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 203-4.

But now on the tenth day of the Debate, with its noise growing ever noisier, on the 4th of February 1657-8, 'about eleven in the morning,'—while peppery Scott is just about to attempt yelping out some new second speech, and there are cries of "Spoken! spoken!" which Sir Arthur struggles to argue down, —arrives the Black Rod.—"The Black Rod stays!" cry some, while Sir Arthur is arguing for Scott.—"What care I for the Black Rod?" snarls he: "The Gentleman" (peppery Scott) ought to be heard."—Black Rod, however, is heard first; signifies that "His Highness is in the Lords House, and desires to speak with you." Under way therefore! "Shall we take our Mace?" By all means, if you consider it likely to be useful to you![1]

They take their Mace; range themselves in due mass, in the "Other House," Lords House, or whatever they call it; and his Highness, with a countenance of unusual earnestness, sorrow, resolution and severity says:[2]

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, *I* desired the carrying-on the Affairs of the Nation to these ends! The blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness[3] and peace, —which I desire may be improved.

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[1] Burton, ii. 462 *et seqq.*;—see also *Tanner MS.* li. 1, for a more detailed account. [Also letters printed by Mr. Firth in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, Jan. 1892.]

[2] [There are MS. copies of this speech amongst the Pell Papers in *Lansdowne MS.* 754, and in the *Clarke Papers.* The former differs so very much from that in the *Old Parliamentary History* used by Carlyle, that it is given in the Supplement, No. 138. This speech was the central theme of the brilliant attack made upon Carlyle, as "the pious editor of Cromwell's speeches" in the *National Review* viii., 587. But Sir R. Palgrave weakened his case by placing somewhat too much reliance upon the text sent to Pell, whereas Hartlib says to Pell of this very report, that there was "much nonsense" in it. The *Clarke MS.* version agrees much more nearly with the text used by Carlyle (*i.e.*, that printed in *Parliamentary History*, from the *Phillips MSS.*) than with the Pell version, and the variants (if of the least importance) are given here in the notes.]

[3] ["aimed at was mercy, that righteousness, &c.," *Clarke MS.*; "aimed at" is most likely correct. The *Lansdowne MS.* is very different here, but seems to render the word as "attained."]

That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by you [meaning the House of Commons];[1] who, in reference to the ancient Constitution [*"Which had Two Houses and a King,"—though we do not in words mention that!*], did draw me to accept the place of Protector. [*"I was a kind of Protector already, I always understood; but let that pass. Certainly you invited me to become the Protector I now am, with Two Houses and other appendages, and there lies the gist of the matter at present."*] There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But [I][1] contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years Peace, I did think the Nation[2] happy therein! [*"I did think even my first Protectorate was a successful kind of thing!"*] But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the House that [then][3] had the Legislative capacity:—'certainly' I did look that the same men that made the Frame should make it good unto me! I can say[4] in the presence of God, in comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth,—I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep—[*Yes, your Highness; it had been infinitely quieter, healthier, freer. But it is gone forever: no woodsides now, and peaceful nibbling sheep, and great still thoughts, and glimpses of God 'in the cool of the evening walking among the trees:' nothing but toil and trouble, double, double, till one's discharge arrive, and the Eternal Portals open! Nay even there by your woodside, you had not been happy; not you,—with thoughts going down to the Death-kingdoms, and Heaven so near you on this hand, and Hell so near you on that. Nay who would grudge a little temporary Trouble, when he can do a large spell of eternal Work? Work that is true, and will last through all Eternity! Complain not, your Highness!—His Highness does not complain. "To have kept a flock of sheep,"*

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[1] [*Clarke MS.*] [2] ["nations," *ibid.*] [3] [Omitted in *ibid.*]
[4] ["cannot say," *Lansdowne MS.*; but see note on p. 504 below.]

he says]—rather than undertook such a [place of] [1] Government as this is. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you that had offered it unto me should make it good.[2]

I did tell you, at a Conference [3] concerning it, that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons [that might interpose] [4] between me and the House of Commons, who then had the power,[5] to prevent tumultuary and popular spirits: and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you; and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest! Men of your own [6] rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but a new force added to you,[7] while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these terms;—and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high or too low; when virtue, honesty, piety and justice are omitted: [8] —I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you! But if everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied.[9] [*There is an innocency and childlike goodness in these poor sentences, which speaks to us in spite of rhetoric.*]

Again,[10] I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just accord [11] between the Governor and the Governed; unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto! Upon that [reciprocation][1] I took an Oath [*On the Twenty-sixth of June last*], and they [*On the Twentieth of January last, at their long Table in the Anteroom*] took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine:—and did not every one know upon what condition they swore? God knows, *I* took it upon the conditions expressed in the 'Act of' Government! And I did think we had been upon a[2] foundation, and upon a[2] bottom; and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be advised by the[3] Two Houses of Parliament. And we standing unsettled till we were arrived at that, the consequences[4] would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted[5] Hereditary Lords, nor Hereditary Kings; 'no,' the Power consisting in the Two Houses and myself.—I do not say, that[6] was the meaning of your Oath to *you*. That were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man's conscience. God will judge between you and me! If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this basis,[7] and have offered your judgment and opinion[8] 'as to minor improvements.'

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[1] [*Clarke MS.*]

[2] ["that you that did offer it unto me should have made it good," *ibid.*]

[3] One of the Kingship Conferences of which there is no Report.

[4] [Omitted in *Clarke MS.*]

[5] ["legislative power," *ibid.*]

[6] ["their own," *ibid.*]

[7] 'but to themselves,' however helplessly, must mean this; and a good reporter would have substituted this. [Both the *Clarke* and *Lansdowne MSS.*, however, give the same words. Oliver apparently meant that they were men of such judgment that they would not only be a balance to the Commons House, but would keep themselves in a well-balanced attitude also.]

[8] [The *Lansdowne MS.* here has "aimed at"; *i.e.*, by Oliver himself.]

[9] [A passage follows in *ibid.* see p. 505 below) not given in the *Parl. History* or *Clarke MS.*; but this latter indicates an omission.]

[10] [Omitted in *Clarke MS.*]

[11] ["reciprocation," *both MS. texts.*]

God is my witness; I speak it; it is evident to all the world and people living, That a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement [made][9] by your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen ['*Pointing to his right hand*,'[10] *says the Report*], or Lords, 'or' whatsoever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to *you*.—You advised me to come[11] into this place, to be in a capacity[12] by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, taken for granted[1] some must have I know not what;—and you have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running[2] into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been[3] from the rising of the last Session to this day. Through the intention of revising a Commonwealth again! That some of the people might be the men that might rule all! [*Intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and such like: very inadequate they to "rule;" inadequate to keep their own heads on their shoulders, if they were not* RULED, *they!*] And they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry[4] that thing.—And hath that man been true to this Nation, whosoever he be, especially[5] that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs have been 'made' among[6] the Army, to break and divide us. I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: that these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will! [*No, your Highness; they have not.*] These things tend to nothing else but the playing the King of Scots' game (if I may so call him); and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. [*"I, for my share:" Yea!*].

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[1] [*Clarke MS.*]

[2] ["one," *ibid.*]

[3] ["these," *ibid.*]

[4] ["the consequence [of] which," *ibid.*]

[5] ["it is not made," *ibid.*]

[6] ["what," *ibid.*]

[7] ["if there were any intention . . . these bases," *ibid.*]

[8] ["where you pleased therewith," added in *Clarke MS.*, and "when you had pleased," in *Lansdowne MS.*]

[9] [Omitted in *Clarke MS.*]

[10] ["to his right hand and left hand," *ibid.*]

[11] ["run," *Parl. History* and *Clarke MS.*; *Lansdowne MS.* has "to be."]

[12] 'of authority' is delicately understood, but not expressed.

That which I told you in the Banqueting-House 'ten days ago' was true, That there were preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, within a day, that the King of Scots hath an Army at the water side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been[7] eyewitnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a tumulting,—[*City Petitions are mounting very high,—as perhaps Sir Arthur and others know!*]—

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[1] ["instead of owning your oath, taken for a grant," *Clarke MS.*; "instead of taken for agreed," *Lansdowne MS.* Cromwell probably means, "instead of acknowledging that the matter was settled."]

[2] ["which is in all likelihood running," *Clarke MS.*]

[3] ["than they have done," *ibid.*]

[4] ["and carry on," *ibid.*]

[5] ["he especially," *ibid.*]

[6] ["upon," *ibid.*]

[7] ["are," *ibid.*]

what if I said, Into a rebellion! And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. [*Noble scorn and indignation is gradually getting the better of every other feeling in his Highness and us.*]

It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army[1] while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a Commonwealth; but some of you have been listing[2] of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. [*What a cold qualm in some conscious heart that listens to this! Let him tremble, every joint of him;—or not visibly tremble; but cower home to his place, and repent; and remember in whose hand his beggarly existence in this world lies!*] And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion?[3]—[*The next and final Sentence is partly on fire*]—And if this be so,[4] I do assign it to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that which might be the Settlement of the Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage,—[*Sentence now all beautifully blazing*], I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT![5] And let God be judge between you and me![*]

Figure the looks of Haselrig, Scott and Company! 'The Mace 'was clapt under a cloak; the Speaker withdrew, and *exit Parlia-'mentum,*' the Talking-Apparatus vanishes.[6] "God be judge between you and me!"—"Amen!" answered they,[1] thought they, indignantly; and sank into eternal silence.

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[1] ["That it is not only by endeavours to prevent the army," *Clarke MS.*]

[2] ["are also listing," *ibid.*]

[3] [" present ruin, blood and confusion," *ibid.;* but the *Lansdowne MS.* has "can it be expected that we must not presently run into blood and confusion."]

[4] ["and that I do assign it to this cause, even to the not assenting to that you did invite me to," *Clarke MS.*]

[5] [According to the (very doubtful) testimony of Hobbes, the words were "by the living God, I must and do dissolve you," *Behemoth*, Masere's *Select Tracts*, pt. 2, p. 639. But this sounds rather like an echo of what Oliver is reported to have said to Fleetwood before entering the House.]

[6] *Clarke MS.* ii. 464.

[*] Burton, ii. 465-70.

It was high time; for in truth the Hydra, on every side, is stirring its thousand heads. "Believe it," says Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, writing to an Official acquaintance next week, "believe it, it was of that necessity, that if their Session had "continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood "both in City and Country, upon Charles Stuart's account."[2]

His Highness, before this Monday's sun sets, has begun to lodge the Anarchic Ringleaders, Royalist, Fifth-Monarchist, in the Tower; his Highness is bent once more with all his faculty, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, to front this Hydra, and trample it down once again.[3] On Saturday he summons his Officers, his Acting-Apparatus, to Whitehall round him; explains to them 'in a Speech two hours long' what kind of Hydra it is; asks, Shall it conquer us, involve us in blood and confusion? They answer from their hearts, No, it shall not! "We will stand and fall with your Highness, we will live and die with you!"[4]—It is the last duel this Oliver has with any Hydra fomented into life by a Talking-Apparatus; and he again conquers it, invincibly compresses it, as he has heretofore done.[1]

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[1] Tradition in various modern Books (*Parliamentary History*, xxi. 203; Note to Burton, ii. 470); not supported, that I can find, by any contemporary witness. [But the *Phillips MS.* (in *Parl. Hist.*) *is* contemporary. Also the report in the *Clarke MSS.* ends, "To which end many of the Commons cried Amen. And so the Parliament was dissolved." For accounts of the dissolution, see Bordeaux's letters to Brienne and Mazarin, and Payne's to Nieupoort (Thurloe, vi. 778, 779, 781), also the letters printed by Mr. Firth in the *English Historical Review*, 1892, p. 102.]

[2] Hartlib in London (11th Feb. 1657-8) to Moreland at Geneva; printed in *Parliamentary History*, xxi, 205. [Hartlib was writing to Pell, not to Morland. "An army of twenty thousand," he continued, "might have appeared with an ugly petition (for the re-establishing of Charles Stuart) presuming they should find a party amongst them; whilst another army of ten thousand men was landing in England by the jealousy (to say no worse) of our good neighbours. Besides, there was another petition set on foot in the City for a Commonwealth, which would have gathered like a snowball; but by the resolute sudden dissolving of the Parliament, both these dangerous designs were mercifully prevented. Whether we shall have another Parliament shortly, or a grand council of only optimates in the meantime, we cannot tell. All the officers of the army attended his Highness on Saturday last in the banqueting-hall, where they were entertained with a speech of two hours long which made them afresh to resolve to stand and fall, live and die, with my Lord Protector. Here you have his Highness's two last speeches to both Houses, as they were taken at his elbow; there is much *nonsense* &c. in the last, but there are very few men yet that have a copy at all of them." *Lansdowne MS.* 754, f. 342. On the same day, Morland wrote, "His Highness broke up the Parliament, because they, instead of settling the nation, were endeavouring, a great part of them, to unhinge all things, and to bring us into blood and confusion." *Ibid.*, f. 343.]

[3] Appendix, No. 31. [4] Hartlib's Letter, *ubi supra.* [See Supplement, No. 139.]

One day, in the early days of March next, his Highness said to Lord Broghil: An old friend of yours is in Town, the Duke of Ormond, now lodged in Drury Lane, at the Papist Surgeon's there:[2] you had better tell him to be gone![3]—Whereat his Lordship stared; found it a fact, however; and his Grace of Ormond did go with exemplary speed, and got again to Bruges and the Sacred Majesty, with report That Cromwell had many enemies, but that the rise of the Royalists was moonshine. And on the 12th of the month his Highness had the Mayor and Common Council with him in a body at Whitehall; and 'in a Speech at large' explained to them that his Grace of Ormond was gone only 'on Tuesday last;' that there were Spanish Invasions, Royalist Insurrections and Frantic-Anabaptist Insurrections rapidly ripening;—that it would well beseem the City of London to have its Militia in good order. To which the Mayor and Common Council, 'being very sensible thereof,' made zealous response[4] by Speech and by act. In a word, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, and an Oliver Protector now at the head of the Acting-Apparatus, no Insurrection, in the eyes of reasonable persons, had any chance. The leading Royalists shrank close into their privacies again,—considerable numbers of them had to shrink into durance in the Tower. Among which latter class, his Highness, justly incensed, and 'considering,' as Thurloe says, 'that it was not fit there should be a Plot of this kind every winter,' had determined that a High Court of Justice should take cognisance of some. High Court of Justice is accordingly nominated[5] as the Act of Parliament prescribes: among the parties marked for trial by it are Sir Henry Slingsby, long since prisoner for Penruddock's business, and the Reverend Dr. Hewit, a man of much forwardness in Royalism. Sir Henry, prisoner in Hull and acquainted with the Chief Officers there, has been treating with them for betrayal of the place to his Majesty; has even, to that end, given one of them a Majesty's Commission; for whose Spanish Invasion such a Haven and Fortress would have been extremely convenient. Reverend Dr. Hewit, preaching by sufferance, according to the old ritual, 'in St. Gregory's Church near Paul's,'[1] to a select disaffected audience, has further seen good to distinguish himself very much by secular zeal in this business of the Royalist Insurrection and Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion;—which has now come to nothing, and left poor Dr. Hewit in a most questionable position. Of these two, and of others, a High Court of Justice shall take cognisance.

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[1] [At the end of February, the Protector appears to have been very ill. A letter in the *Sutherland MSS.* after narrating one of the Lord Richard's many narrow escapes (this time he "had like to have been shot by one of his own soldiers, who gave fire at him with a musket, but it did not go off") continues: "His father continues still sick and keeps his bed. The last news I heard of him was that he had a very dangerous imposthume in his back, and yesterday sent for Boone, one of his our [*sic*] city chirurgeons." *Duke of Sutherland's MSS.*, *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 166.]

[2] [Ormond lodged there at first, but afterwards removed to a French tailor's in Black Friars, and again to a lodging in Old Fish Street (*Life*, ii., 178, 9). According to a news-letter in the *Clarke Papers* (iii. 147) he also stayed at Dr. Hewit's.]

[3] Godwin, iv. 508; Budgel's *Lives of the Boyles*, p. 49; &c.

[4] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 171.) [See Supplement, No. 140.]

[5] 27th April 1658. Act of Parliament, with List of the Names, is in Scobell, ii. 372-5: see also *Commons Journals*, vii. 427 (Sept. 1656). [Just before this, Oliver had been busy arranging for the "planting of the gospel" in the Highlands. See

The Insurrection having no chance in the eyes of reasonable Royalists, and they in consequence refusing to lead it, the large body of *un*reasonable Royalists now in London City or gathering thither decide, with indignation, That they will try it on their own score, and lead it themselves. Hands to work, then, ye unreasonable Royalists; pipe, All hands! Saturday the 15th of May, that is the night appointed: To rise that Saturday Night; beat drums for 'Royalist Apprentices,' 'fire houses at the Tower,' slay this man, slay that, and bring matters to a good issue. Alas, on the very edge of the appointed hour, as usual, we are all seized;[2] the ringleaders of us are all seized, 'at the Mermaid in Cheapside,'—for Thurloe and his Highness have long known what we were upon! Barkstead Governor of the Tower 'marches into the City with five drakes,' at the rattle of which every Royalist Apprentice, and party implicated, shakes in his shoes:—and this also has gone to vapour, leaving only for result certain new individuals of the Civic class to give account of it to the High Court of Justice.

Tuesday, 25th May 1658, the High Court of Justice sat; a for-

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letter in Supplement (No. 141). There are some other short letters of about this date or a little later.]

[1] [Of which he was vicar. There are several notices of him in Evelyn's *Diary*, (where his name is printed Hewer) and of his "martyrdom," "without law, jury or justice," for holding intelligence with the King through the Marquis of Ormond.]

[2] [Hewit, at any rate, was in custody before April 20. See an account of the plot in *Clarke Papers*, iii. 147.]

midable Sanhedrim of above a Hundred-and thirty heads, consisting of 'all the Judges,'[1] chief Law Officials, and others named in the Writ according to Act of Parliament;—sat 'in Westminster 'Hall, at Nine in the morning, for the Trial of Sir Henry Slingsby 'Knight, John Hewit Doctor of Divinity,' and three others whom we may forget.[2] Sat day after day till all were judged. Poor Sir Henry, on the first day, was condemned; he pleaded what he could, poor gentleman, a very constant Royalist all along; but the Hull business was too palpable; he was condemned to die. Reverend Dr. Hewit, whose proceedings had also become very palpable, refused to plead at all; refused even 'to take off his hat,' says Carrion Heath, 'till the officer was coming to do it for him;' 'had a Paper of Demurrers prepared by the learned Mr. Prynne,' who is now again doing business this way;—'conducted himself not very wisely,' says Bulstrode. He likewise received sentence of death. The others, by narrow missing, escaped; by good luck, or the Protector's mercy, suffered nothing.

As to Slingsby and Hewit, the Protector was inexorable. Hewit has already taken a very high line: let him persevere in it![3] Slingsby was the Lord Fauconberg's Uncle, married to his Aunt Bellasis; but that could not stead him,—perhaps that was but a new monition to be strict with him. The Commonwealth of England and its Peace are not nothing! These Royalist Plots every winter, deliveries of Garrisons to Charles

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[1] [But a newsletter amongst the *Clarke Papers* (iii. 151) signed J. R. (probably Rushworth) distinctly states that the judges of the Courts at Westminster who had been nominated members of the court refused to sit, they being of opinion that the prisoners ought to be tried by a jury, "but those thirty who sat there to-day are of another opinion."]

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 172).

[3] [There are various tales respecting Hewit and the Protector's daughters. Ludlow says that "Mrs. Claypole laboured earnestly with her father to save the life of Dr. Hewit, but without success, which denial so afflicted her that it was reported to have been one cause of her death" (*Memoirs*, ed. Firth, ii. 41). Another story ran that he had privately married Mary Cromwell to Lord Fauconberg according to the Anglican rite and that she also pleaded for him. This is stated by Clarendon, *Rebellion*, book xv. Certainly, in later days, not only Lord Fauconberg but his wife were very orthodox members of the Church of England. There is still extant, amongst Sir George Wombwell's papers, the licence, duly signed and sealed by the Bishop of London, for them to eat flesh in Lent when necessary for their health's sake. Whether she pleaded for Hewit or not, there is no doubt that she tried to save Slingsby. Bordeaux told Mazarin that she had been herself to him to beg him to get the Cardinal and the French King to use their influence with her Father on behalf of her husband's uncle, but that he believed Slingsby would be executed, it being likely that they did not wish the minister to die alone, "pour ne pas donner sujet de plaintes aux dévots." *Record Office Transcripts.*]

Stuart, and reckless 'usherings of us into blood,' shall end! Hewit and Slingsby suffered on Tower Hill, on Monday 8th June; amid the manifold rumour and emotion of men. Of the City Insurrectionists six were condemned; three of whom were executed, three pardoned. And so the High Court of Justice dissolved itself; and at this and not at more expense of blood, the huge Insurrectionary movement ended, and lay silent within its caves again.

Whether in any future year it would have tried another rising against such a Lord Protector, one does not know,—one guesses rather in the negative. The Royalist Cause, after so many failures, after such a sort of enterprises 'on the word of a Christian King,' had naturally sunk very low. Some twelvemonth hence, with a Commonwealth not now under Cromwell, but only under the impulse of Cromwell, a Christian King hastening down to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, where France and Spain were making Peace, found one of the coldest receptions. Cardinal Mazarin 'sent 'his coaches and guards a day's journey to meet Lockhart the 'Commonwealth Ambassador;' but refused to meet the Christian King at all; would not even meet Ormond except as if by accident, 'on the public road,' to say that there was no hope. The Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, was civiller in manner; but as to Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasions or the like, he also decisively shook his head.[1] The Royalist Cause was as good as desperate in England; a melancholy Reminiscence, fast fading away into the realm of shadows. Not till Puritanism sank of its own accord, could Royalism rise again. But Puritanism, the King of it once away, fell loose very naturally in every fibre,—fell into *Kinglessness,* what we call Anarchy; crumbled down, ever faster, for Sixteen Months, in mad suicide, and universal clashing and collision; proved, by trial after trial, that there lay not in it either Government or so much as Self-government any more; that a Government of England by *it* was henceforth an impossibility. Amid the general wreck of things, all Government threatening now to be impossible, the Reminiscence of Royalty rose again, "Let us take refuge in the Past, the Future is not possible!"—and Major-General Monk crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, with results which are well known.

Results which we will not quarrel with, very mournful as they have been! If it please Heaven, these Two-hundred Years of universal Cant in Speech, with so much of Cotton-spinning, Coal-boring, Commercing, and other valuable Sincerity of Work going-on the while, shall not be quite lost to us! Our Cant will vanish, our whole baleful cunningly-compacted Universe of Cant, as does a heavy Nightmare Dream. We shall awaken, and find ourselves in a world greatly *widened.*—Why Puritanism could not continue? My friend, Puritanism was *not* the Complete Theory of this immense Universe; no, only a part thereof! To me it seems, in my hours of hope, as if the Destinies meant something grander with England than even Oliver Protector did! We will not quarrel with the Destinies; we will work as we can towards fulfilment of them.

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[1] Kennet, iii. 214. Clarendon, iii. 914.

But in these same June days of the year 1658, while Hewit and Slingsby lay down their heads on Tower Hill, and the English Hydra finds that its Master is still here, there arrive the news of Dunkirk alluded-to above: Dunkirk gloriously taken, Spaniards gloriously beaten: victories and successes abroad; which are a new illumination to the Lord Protector in the eyes of England. Splendid Nephews of the Cardinal, Manzinis, Ducs de Crequi, come across the Channel to congratulate 'the most invincible of Sovereigns;' young Louis Fourteenth himself would have come, had not the attack of small-pox prevented.[1] With whom the elegant Lord Fauconberg and others busy themselves: their pageantry and gilt coaches, much gazed-at by the idler multitudes, need not detain us here.

The Lord Protector, his Parliament having been dismissed with such brevity, is somewhat embarrassed in his finances. But otherwise his affairs stand well; visibly in an improved condition. Once more he has saved Puritan England; once more approved himself invincible abroad and at home. He looks with confidence towards summoning a new Parliament, of juster disposition towards Puritan England and him.[2] With a Parliament, or if extremity of need arrive, without a Parliament and in spite of Parliaments, the Puritan Gospel Cause, sanctioned by a Higher than Parliaments, shall not sink while life remains in this Man. Not till Oliver Cromwell's head lie low, shall English Puritanism bend its head to any created thing. Erect, with its foot on the neck of Hydra Babylon, with its open Bible and drawn Sword, shall Puritanism stand, and with pious all-defiance victoriously front the world. That was Oliver Cromwell's appointed function in this piece of Sublunary Space, in this section of swift-flowing Time; that noble, perilous, painful function: and he has manfully done it,—and is now near ending it, and getting honourably relieved from it.

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[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 172-3; 15th-21st June 1658).

[2] Thurloe, vii. 84, 99, 128, &c. (April, May 1658). [And *Clarke Papers*, iii. 145. All through the spring, as we see from Bordeaux's despatches, there had been talk of a new parliament; fresh talk also of Kingship, concerning which, as early as March, the ambassador wrote that everyone except the lower officers of the army wished it. In April, he stated that the calling of Parliament was supposed to be certain, and that Kingship was spoken of no less positively. It was believed that this would come first, that the old nobility might have less scruple in sitting. *Bordeaux to Mazarin*, April 12-22. After this he says no more of the project.]

LETTER CCXXV

The poor Protestants of Piedmont, it appears, are again in a state of grievance, in a state of peril. The Lord Protector, in the thickest press of domestic anarchies, finds time to think of these poor people and their case. Here is a Letter to Ambassador Lockhart, who is now at Dunkirk Siege, in the French King and Cardinal's neighbourhood: a generous pious Letter; dictated to Thurloe, partly perhaps of Thurloe's composition, but altogether of Oliver's mind and sense;—fit enough, since it so chances, to conclude our Series here.

Among the Lockhart Letters in *Thurloe,* which are full of Dunkirk in these weeks, I can find no trace of this new Piedmont business:[1] but in Milton's Latin State-Letters, among the *Literæ Oliverii Protectoris,* there are Three, to the French King, to the Swiss Cantons, to the Cardinal, which all treat of it.[2] The first of which, were it only as a sample of the Milton-Oliver Diplomacies, we will here copy, and translate that all may read it. An emphatic State-Letter; which Oliver Cromwell meant, and John Milton thought and wrote into words; not unworthy to be read. It goes by the same Express as the Letter to Lockhart himself;[3] and is very specially referred to there:

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[1] [Nor is it mentioned in Bordeaux's letters to Mazarin.]

[2] [Also to the Duke of Savoy, King of Sweden, States-General, King of Denmark and Prince of Transylvania.]

[3] [Carried, no doubt, by Lord Fauconberg, who started the next day on a mission of compliment to the French King.]

"*Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi, Ludovico Galliarum Regi*

"SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMEQUE REX, AMICE AC FŒDERATE
"AUGUSTISSIME,

"*Meminisse potest Majestas Vestra, quo tempore "inter nos de renovando Fœdere agebatur (quod optimis auspiciis "initum multa utriusque Populi commoda, multa Hostium communium "exinde mala testantur), accidisse miseram illam Convallensium "Occisionem; quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam "Vestræ misericordiæ atque tutelæ, summo cum ardore animi ac "miseratione, commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur "Majestatem Vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro "eâ quâ apud Ducem Sabaudiæ valere debuit vel auctoritate vel "gratiâ: Nos certè aliique multi Principes ac Civitates, legationibus, "literis, precibus interpositis, non defuimus.*

"*Post cruentissimam utriusque sexûs omnis ætatis Trucidationem, "Pax tandem data est; vel potiùs inductæ Pacis nomine hostilitas "quædam tectior. Conditiones Pacis vestro in oppido Pinarolii sunt "latæ: duræ quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque inopes, dira omnia "atque immania perpessi, facile acquiescerent, modò iis, duræ et iniquæ "ut sint, staretur. Non statur; sed enim earum quoque singularum "falsâ interpretatione variisque diverticulis, fides eluditur ac violatur. "Antiquis sedibus multi dejiciuntur, Religio Patria multis interdicitur; "Tributa nova exiguntur; Arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites "crebrò erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant. Ad "hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter "eos Romanam Religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur: ut "omnia nunc rursùs videantur ad illorum internecionem miserorum "spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit.*

"*Quod ergò per dextram tuam, Rex Christianissime, quæ Fœdus "nobiscum et amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor, per illud "Christianissimi tituli decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris: nec tantam "sæviendi licentiam, non dico Principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum "Principem, multò minus in ætatem illius Principis teneram, aut in "muliebrem Matris animum, tanta sævitia cadere potest), sed sacerrimis illis Sicariis, ne permiseris. Qui cum Christi Servatoris nostri "servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui venit in hunc mundum "ut peccatores servaret, Ejus mitissimi Nomine atque Institutis ad "innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutuntur. Eripe qui potes, quique "in tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot supplices tuos homicidarum ex "manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii sanguinem rursùs sitiunt, suæque "invidiam crudelitatis in Principes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt.*

"*Tu verò nec Titulos tuos aut Regni fines istâ invidiâ, nec Evangelium*
"*Christi pacatissimum istâ crudelitate fœdari, te regnante patiaris.*
"*Memineris hos ipsos Avi tui Henrici Protestantibus amicissimi Dedi-*
"*titios fuisse ; cùm Diguierius per ea Loca, quà etiam commodissimus*
"*in Italiam transitus est, Sabaudum trans Alpes cedentum victor est*
"*insecutus. Deditionis illius Instrumentum in Actis Regni vestri Pub-*
"*licis etiamnum extat : in quo exceptum atque cautum inter alia est,*
"*ne cui posteà Convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem conditionibus qui-*
"*bus eos Avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc*
"*implorant, avitam abs te Nepote supplices requirunt. Tui esse quàm*
"*cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione aliquâ si fieri possit, malint atque*
"*optârint : id si non licet, patrocinio saltem, miseratione atque per-*
"*fugio.*

"*Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad te*
"*confugientes ne rejicias : sed nolim te, Rex tantus cum sis, aliis rati-*
"*onibus ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide à Majoribus datâ,*
"*pietate, regiâque animi benignitate ac magnitudine permoveri. Ita*
"*pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque integra tua erit, et*
"*ipse Patrem Misericordiæ ejusque Filium Christum Regem, cujus*
"*Nomen atque Doctrinam ab immanitate nefariâ vindicaveris, eò*
"*magis faventem tibi et propitium per omnem vitam experieris.*

"*Deus Opt. Max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum hominum*
"*Christianorum tutandam salutem, Vestrumque verum decus, Majestati*
"*Vestræ hanc mentem injiciat.*

"'*Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus*

"'OLIVERIUS PROTECTOR REIP. ANGLIÆ,' &c.

"*Westmonasterio, Maii* '*26° die,*' *anno* 1658."[1]

Of which here is a Version the most literal we can make :

"*To the most serene and potent Prince, Louis, King of France*

"MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, MOST CLOSE FRIEND AND
"ALLY,

"Your Majesty may recollect that during the
"negotiation between us for the renewing of our League[2] (which
"many advantages to both Nations, and much damage to their
"common Enemies, resulting therefrom, now testify to have
"been very wisely done),—there fell out that miserable Slaughter

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[1] The Prose Works of John Milton (London, 1833), p. 815.
[2] June 1655 : *antea*, ii., p. 443.

"of the People of the Valleys; whose cause, on all sides deserted "and trodden down, we, with the utmost earnestness and pity, "recommended to your mercy and protection. Nor do we "think Your Majesty, for your own part, has been wanting in "an office so pious and indeed so human, in so far as either by "authority or favour you might have influence with the Duke of "Savoy: we certainly, and many other Princes and States, by "embassies, by letters, by entreaties directed thither, have not "been wanting.

"After that most sanguinary Massacre, which spared no age "nor either sex, there was at last a Peace given; or rather, "under the specious name of Peace, a certain more disguised "hostility. The terms of the Peace were settled in your Town of "Pignerol: hard terms; but such as those poor People, indigent "and wretched, after suffering all manner of cruelties and "atrocities, might gladly acquiesce in; if only, hard and unjust "as the bargain is, it were adhered to. It is not adhered to: "those terms are broken; the purport of every one of them is, "by false interpretation and various subterfuges, eluded and "violated. Many of these People are ejected from their Old "Habitations; their Native Religion is prohibited to many: new "Taxes are exacted; a new Fortress has been built over them, "out of which soldiers frequently sallying plunder or kill whom-"soever they meet. Moreover, new Forces have of late been "privily got ready against them; and such as follow the Romish "Religion are directed to withdraw from among them within a "limited time: so that everything seems now again to point "towards the extermination of all among those unhappy People, "whom the former Massacre had left.

"Which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obtest "thee, by thy right-hand which pledged a League and Friendship "with us, by the sacred honour of that Title of Most Christian, "—permit not to be done: nor let such license of savagery, "I do not say to any Prince (for indeed no cruelty like this "could come into the mind of any Prince, much less into the "tender years of that young Prince, or into the woman's heart "of his Mother), but to those most accursed Assassins, be given. "Who while they profess themselves the servants and imitators "of Christ our Saviour, who came into this world that He might "save sinners, abuse His most merciful Name and Commandments "to the cruellest slaughterings. Snatch, thou who art able, and "who in such an elevation art worthy to be able, those poor

"Suppliants of thine from the hands of Murderers, who, lately "drunk with blood, are again athirst for it, and think con"venient to turn the discredit of their own cruelty upon their "Prince's score. Suffer not either thy Titles and the Environs "of thy Kingdom to be soiled with that discredit, or the "peaceable Gospel of Christ by that cruelty, in thy Reign. "Remember that these very People became Subjects of thy "Ancestor, Henry, most friendly to Protestants; when Lesdi"guières victoriously pursued him of Savoy across the Alps, "through those same Valleys,[1] where indeed the most commodi"ous pass to Italy is. The Instrument of that their Paction and "Surrender is yet extant in the Public Acts of your Kingdom: "in which this among other things is specified and provided "against, That these People of the Valleys should not thereafter "be delivered over to any one except on the same conditions "under which thy invincible Ancestor had received them into "fealty. This promised protection they now implore; promise "of thy Ancestor they now, from thee the Grandson, suppli"antly demand. To be thine rather than his whose they now "are, if by any means of exchange it could be done, they would "wish and prefer: if that may not be, thine at least by succour, "by commiseration and deliverance.

"There are likewise reasons of state which might give induce"ment not to reject these People of the Valleys flying for shelter "to thee: but I would not have thee, so great a King as thou "art, be moved to the defence of the unfortunate by other "reasons than the promise of thy Ancestors, and thy own piety "and royal benignity and greatness of mind. So shall the "praise and fame of this most worthy action be unmixed and "clear; and thyself shalt find the Father of Mercy, and His Son "Christ the King, whose Name and Doctrine thou shalt have "vindicated, the more favourable to thee, and propitious through "the course of life.

"May the Almighty, for His own glory, for the safety of so "many most innocent Christian men, and for your true honour, "dispose Your Majesty to this determination.

"Your Majesty's most friendly

"OLIVER PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

"Westminster, 26th May 1658."

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[1] In 1592: Hénault, *Abrégé Chronologique* (Paris, 1774), ii. 597.

'To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador at the French Court: These'

'Whitehall,' 26th May 1658.

Sir,

The continual troubles and vexations of the poor people of Piedmont professing the Reformed Religion,—and that after so many serious instances of yours in the Court of France on their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to his Majesty in our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to profess very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy for the accommodating of those affairs, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations,—are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that, notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed members of Christ, do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care; desiring you to redouble your instances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances, which, the truth is, are almost inexpressible. For so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish adversaries, that,—as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have rased their churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out the inhabitants beyond the river Pelice, out of those their ancient possessions which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together, —they are now resolved to fill their cup of affliction up to the brim, and to heat the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things:

First,—They forcibly prohibit all manner of public exercises[1] at San Giovanni, which, notwithstanding, the inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind: and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous orders, they are immediately summoned before their Courts of Justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and some threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.

2. And forasmuch as, in the said Valleys, there are not found among the natives men fitly qualified and of abilities for ministerial functions to supply so much as one half of their churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies,—their Popish enemies take hold of this advantage; and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in and devour the sheep.

3. To this we add, their strict prohibition of all Physicians and Chirurgeons of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the valleys. And thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps which God hath allowed to all mankind.

4. And as a supplement to the former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of commerce and trade with their Popish neighbours; that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families: and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels.

5. Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out orders whereby to force the poor Protestants to sell their lands and houses to their Popish neighbours: whereas the Papists are

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[1] Means 'Public Worship.'

prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants.

6. Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre; contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassador of the Evangelical Cantons; where they have also placed commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts, without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same. If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too-too often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them odious to their neighbours.

7. There are sent lately into the said Valleys several troops of Horse and companies of Foot; which hath caused the poor people, out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty to send their wives and little ones, with all that were feeble and sick amongst them, into the Valley of Perosa, under the King of France his dominions.

These are, in short, the grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor people even at this very day, whereof you are to use your utmost endeavours to make his Majesty thoroughly sensible; and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders to his Ambassador who resides in the Duke's Court, to act vigorously in their behalf. Our letter,[1] which you shall present his Majesty for this end and purpose, contains several reasons in it which we hope will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work, and we desire you to second and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations; representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that Accord of Henry the Fourth, his royal predecessor, with the ancestors [2] of those very people, in the year 1592, by the Constable of Lesdiguières; which Accord is registered in the Parliament of

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[1] Milton's, given above.

[2] [Carlyle or his transcriber misread this "ambassadors."]

Dauphiné; and whereof you have an authentic copy in your own hands, whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their Successors to maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions. Besides that the gaining to himself the hearts of that people, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day, in relation to Pignerol and the other adjacent places under his dominions.

One of the most effectual remedies, which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present is, that the King of France would be pleased to make an exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys, resigning over to him some other part of his dominions in lieu thereof,—as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse.[1] Which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerol, as for the opening of a passage for his forces into Italy,—which 'passage,' if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.

By what we have already said, you see our intentions; and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct, and rest,

'Your friend,'

OLIVER P.*

Lockhart, both General and Ambassador in these months, is, as we hinted, infinitely busy with his share in the Siege of Dunkirk, now just in its agony; and before this Letter can well arrive, has done his famous feat of Fighting, which brings Turenne and him their victory, among the sandhills there.[2] Much to the joy of Cardinal and King; who will not readily refuse him in any reasonable point at present. There came no new Massacre upon the poor People of the Valleys; their grievances were again 'settled,' scared away for a season, by negotiation.

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[1] In 1601 (Hénault, ii. 612).

[2] Thursday 3d June 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 155-6). [See also letters to Monck, *Clarke Papers*, iii. 153, 156.]

* *Ayscough MSS.*, No. 4107, f. 89. [Now f. 2. A contemporaneous copy.]

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR

There remain no more *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* for us; the above is the last of them of either kind. As a Speaker to men, he takes his leave of the world, in these final words addressed to his Second Parliament, on the 4th of February 1657-8: "God be judge between you and me!"—So was it appointed by the Destinies and the Oblivions; these were his last public words.

Other Speeches, in that crisis of Oliver's affairs, we have already heard of; 'Speech of two hours' to his Officers in Whitehall; Speech to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, in the same place, on the same subject: but they have not been reported, or the report of them has not come down to us.[1] There were domestic Letters also, as we still find, written in those same tumultuous weeks; Letters to the Earl of Warwick, on occasion of the death of his Grandson, the Protector's Son-in-law. For poor young Mr. Rich, whom we saw wedded in November last, is dead.[2] He died on the twelfth day after that Dissolution of the Parliament; while Oliver and the Commonwealth are wrestling against boundless Anarchies, Oliver's own Household has its visitations and dark days. Poor little Frances Cromwell, in the fourth month of her marriage, still only about seventeen, she finds herself suddenly a widow; and Hampton Court has become a house of mourning. Young Rich was much lamented. Oliver condoled with the Grandfather 'in seasonable and sympathising Letters;' for which the brave old Earl rallies himself to make some gratefullest Reply;[3]—"Cannot enough confess

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[1] [*i.e.*, not a full Report; but see Supplement, Nos. 139, 140. Also pp. 193, 194 above, and for letters, Nos. 141-148.]

[2] 16th Feb, 1657-8, Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 170). ["His Highness mourned three days in purple," Newsletter in the *Clarke Papers*, iii. 142. But Bordeaux wrote that Mr. Rich's death seemed to cause so little concern at court that he did not like to make a regular visit of condolence and so was waiting until he next went on business. Probably the state of the young man's health was too bad for his death to be a great sorrow.]

[3] Earl of Warwick to the Lord Protector, date 11th March 1657-8; printed in Godwin, iv. 528.

"my obligation and much less discharge it, for your seasonable "and sympathising Letters; which, besides the value they derive from so worthy a hand, express such faithful affections, "and administer such Christian advice as renders them beyond "measure welcome and dear to me." Blessings, and noble eulogies, the outpouring of a brave old heart, conclude this Letter of Warwick's. He himself died shortly after;[1] a new grief to the Protector.—The Protector was delivering the Commonwealth from Hydras and fighting a world-wide battle, while he wrote those Letters on the death of young Rich. If by chance they still lie hidden in the archives of some kinsman of the Warwicks, they may yet be disimprisoned and made audible. Most probably they too are lost. And so we have now nothing more; —and Oliver has nothing more. His Speakings, and also his Actings, all his manifold Strugglings, more or less victorious, to utter the great God's-Message that was in him,—have here what we call ended. This Summer of 1658, likewise victorious after struggle, is his last in our World of Time. Thenceforth he enters the Eternities; and rests upon his arms *there*.

Oliver's look was yet strong; and young for his years,[2] which were Fifty-nine last April. The 'Three-score and ten years,' the Psalmist's limit, which probably was often in Oliver's thoughts and in those of others there, might have been anticipated for him: Ten Years more of Life;—which, we may compute, would have given another History to all the Centuries of England.[3] But it was not to be so, it was to be otherwise. Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times; often 'indisposed' the spring before last.[4] His course of life had not been favourable to health! "A burden too heavy for man!" as he himself, with a sigh, would sometimes say. Incessant toil; inconceivable labour, of head and heart and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near Twenty years now, had done their part: those robust life-energies, it afterwards appeared,[1] had been gradually eaten out. Like a Tower strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined; which has not long to stand; the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden.—

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[1] 19th April 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 85).

[2] Heath.

[3] [His own son seems clearly to have recognised how entirely matters hung upon the Protector's own life. "Have you," he wrote, "any settlement? Does not your peace depend upon his Highness's life, and upon his peculiar skill and faculty and personal interest in the army?" *Henry Cromwell to Thurloe* (Thurloe, vii. 218).]

[4] [He had another carriage accident, too, at this time, which may have shaken him more than was supposed. Hartlib, writing to Pell on June 3, says: "There had like fallen out a very sad accident last week, when the ship was launched which was called the *Richard*, for by reason of the wildness of the horses, they ran away and tore my Lord Richard's coach all in pieces, my Lord Protector, Major Beak and Mr. Pierrepoint being in it, but, God be thanked, no hurt was done but only my Lord Richard received some wounds." Vaughan's *Protectorate*, ii. 468.]

The Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi, with their splendours, and congratulations about Dunkirk, interesting to the street-populations and general public, had not yet withdrawn, when at Hampton Court there had begun a private scene, of much deeper and quite opposite interest there. The Lady Claypole, Oliver's favourite Daughter, a favourite of all the world, had fallen sick we know not when; lay sick now,—to death, as it proved. Her disease was of internal female nature; the painfullest and most harassing to mind and sense, it is understood, that falls to the lot of a human creature. Hampton Court we can fancy once more, in those July days, a house of sorrow: pale Death knocking there, as at the door of the meanest hut. 'She had great sufferings, great exercises of spirit.' Yes:—and in the depths of the old Centuries, we see a pale anxious Mother, anxious Husband, anxious weeping Sisters, a poor young Frances weeping anew in her weeds. 'For the last fourteen days' his Highness has been by her bedside at Hampton Court, unable to attend to any public business whatever.[2] Be still, my Child; trust thou yet in God: in the waves of the Dark River, there too is He a God of help!—On the 6th day of August she lay dead; at rest forever. My young, my beautiful, my brave! She is taken from me: I am left bereaved of her. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord!—

'His Highness,' says Harvey,[3] 'being at Hampton Court, sick-'ened a little before the Lady Elizabeth died. Whose decease 'was on Friday 6th August 1658; she having lain long under 'great extremity of bodily pain, which, with frequent and violent 'convulsion-fits, brought her to her end. But as to his High-'ness, it was observed that the sense of her outward misery, in 'the pains she endured, took deep impression upon him; who 'indeed ever was a most indulgent and tender Father;—his affec-

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[1] Doctor Bates, on examination *post mortem*.

[2] Thurloe, vii. 295 (27th July 1658).

[3] *A Collection of several Passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell, in the Time of his Sickness;* wherein is related many of his Expressions upon his Death-bed, together with his Prayer within two or three Days before his Death. Written by one that was then Groom of his Bedchamber. (*King's Pamphlets*, sm. 4to, no. 792, art. 22: London, 9th June 1659. [E. 985.])

'tions being regulated and bounded with such Christian wisdom 'and prudence, which did eminently shine forth in filling-up not 'only that "relation" of a Father, but also all other relations; 'wherein he was a most rare and singular example. And no 'doubt but the sympathy of his spirit with his sorely afflicted 'and dying Daughter' did break him down at this time; 'con-'sidering also,'—innumerable other considerations of sufferings and toils, which made me often wonder 'he was able to hold-out 'so long; but' indeed 'that he was borne by a Supernatural 'Power at a more than ordinary rate: whereby doubtless he had 'held out longer,[1] as a mercy to the truly Christian World, 'and to us in these Nations, had we been worthy of him!'—

The same authority, who unhappily is not chronological, adds elsewhere this little picture, which we must take with us: 'A 'few days after the death of the Lady Elizabeth his daughter at 'Hampton Court, which touched him nearly,—being then him-'self under bodily distempers, forerunners to his Sickness which 'was to death, and in his bedchamber,—he called for his Bible, 'and desired a person honourable and godly, then (with others) 'present, To read unto him that passage in *Philippians* Fourth, 11, '12, 13: "*Not that I speak in respect of want: but I have learned in 'whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be 'abased, and 'I know' how to abound. Everywhere, and by all things, 'I am instructed; both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound 'and to suffer need.* v. 13: *I can do all things, through Christ that 'strengtheneth me.*" Which read,—said he, to use his own words 'as near as I can remember them: "This Scripture did once save 'my life; when my eldest Son"' poor Robert[2] '"died; which 'went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did." And then 'repeating the words of the text himself, declared his then 'thoughts to this purpose: reading the tenth and eleventh 'verses of Paul's contentation, and submission to the will of God 'in all conditions,—said he: "It's true, Paul, *you* have learned 'this, and attained to this measure of grace: but what shall *I* 'do? Ah poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out! 'I find it so!" But reading on to the thirteenth verse, where 'Paul saith, "*I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth 'me,*"—then faith began to work, and his heart to find support

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[1] [Carlyle omitted these last eight words, and throughout, did not quote exactly.]

[2] A blank in the Pamphlet here: not 'Oliver' as hitherto supposed (see vol. i. p. 176), but 'Robert' (*ibid.* p. 42).

'and comfort, saying thus to himself, "He that was Paul's Christ 'is my Christ too!" And so drew waters out of the well of 'Salvation'.

In the same dark days, occurred George Fox's third and last interview with Oliver. Their first interview we have seen. The second, which had fallen out some two years ago, did not prosper quite so well. George, riding into Town 'one evening,' with some 'Edward Pyot' or other broadbrimmed man, espied the Protector 'at Hyde Park Corner among his Guards,' and made up to his carriage-window, in spite of opposition; and was altogether cordially welcomed there. But on the following day, at Whitehall, the Protector 'spake lightly;' he sat down loosely 'on a table,' and 'spake light things to me,'—in fact, rather quizzed me; finding my enormous sacred Self-confidence none of the least of my attainments![1] Such had been our second interview; here now is the third and last.—George dates nothing; and his facts everywhere lie round him like the leather-parings of his old shop: but we judge it may have been about the time when the Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi were parading in their gilt coaches, That George and two Friends 'going out of Town,' on a summer day, 'two of Hacker's men' had met them,—taken them, brought them to the Mews. 'Prisoners there a while:'—but the Lord's power was over Hacker's men; they had to let us go. Whereupon:

'The same day, taking boat I went down' (*up*) 'to Kingston, 'and from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector 'about the Sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into 'Hampton-Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode 'at the head of his Lifeguard, I saw and felt a waft' (*whiff*) 'of 'death go forth against him.'[1]—Or in favour of him, George? His life, if thou knew it, has not been a merry thing for this man, now or heretofore! I fancy he has been looking, this long while, to give it up, whenever the Commander-in-chief required. To quit his laborious sentry-post; honourably lay-up his arms, and be gone to his rest:—all Eternity to rest in, O George! Was thy own life merry, for example, in the hollow of the tree; clad permanently in leather? And does kingly purple, and governing refractory worlds instead of stitching coarse shoes, make it merrier? The waft of death is not against *him*, I think, —perhaps against thee, and me, and others, O George, when the Nell-Gwyn Defender and Two Centuries of all-victorious Cant have come in upon us! My unfortunate George— —'a 'waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, 'he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the Sufferings 'of Friends before him, and had warned him according as I was 'moved to speak to him, he bade me come to his house. So I 'returned to Kingston; and, the next day, went up to Hampton 'Court to speak farther with him. But when I came, Harvey, 'who was one that waited on him, told me the Doctors were not 'willing that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and 'never saw him more.'[1]

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[1] Fox's *Journal*, i. 381, 2.

Friday, the 20th of August 1658, this was probably the day on which George Fox saw Oliver riding into Hampton Park with his Guards, for the last time. That Friday, as we find, his Highness seemed much better: but on the morrow a sad change had taken place; feverish symptoms, for which the Doctors rigorously prescribed quiet. Saturday to Tuesday the symptoms continued ever worsening: a kind of tertian ague, 'bastard tertian' as the old Doctors name it; for which it was ordered that his Highness should return to Whitehall, as to a more favourable air in that complaint. On Tuesday accordingly he quitted Hampton Court;—never to see it more.[2]

'His time was come,' says Harvey; 'and neither prayers nor 'tears could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and lend 'him longer to us, although abundantly and incessantly poured 'out on his behalf, both publicly and privately, as was observed, 'in a more than ordinary way. Besides many a secret sigh, like 'Moses' cry, more loud, and strongly laying hold on God, though 'neither perceived nor heard by men, than many spoken suppli'cations. All which,—the hearts of God's People being thus 'mightily stirred up,—did seem to beget confidence in some, 'and hopes in all; yea some thoughts in himself, that God 'would restore him.'

'Prayers public and private:' they are worth imagining to ourselves. Meetings of Preachers, Chaplains, and Godly Persons; 'Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, with a company of others, in an adjoining room;' in Whitehall, and elsewhere over religious London and England, fervent outpourings of many a loyal heart. For there were hearts to whom the nobleness of this man was known; and his worth to the Puritan Cause was evident. Prayers,—strange enough to us; in a dialect fallen obsolete, forgotten now. Authentic wrestlings of ancient Human Souls,—who were alive then, with their affections, awe-struck pieties; with their Human Wishes, risen to be *transcendent,* hoping to prevail with the Inexorable. All swallowed now in the depths of dark Time; which is full of such, since the beginning!—Truly it is a great scene of World-History, this in old Whitehall: Oliver Cromwell drawing nigh to his end. The exit of Oliver Cromwell and of English Puritanism; a great Light, one of our few authentic Solar Luminaries, going down now amid the clouds of Death. Like the setting of a great victorious Summer Sun; its course now finished. '*So stirbt ein Held,*' says Schiller, 'So dies a Hero! Sight worthy to be worshipped!'—He died, this Hero Oliver, in Resignation to God; as the Brave have all done. 'We could not be more desirous he should abide,' says the pious Harvey, 'than he was content and willing to be gone.' The struggle lasted, amid hope and fear, for ten days.—Some small miscellaneous traits, and confused gleanings of last-words; and then our poor History ends.

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[1] Fox's *Journal*, pp. 485, 6.

[2] [He went to Whitehall intending to stay only until St. James' was made ready, but never left it. For account of the "ebb and flow" of his illness throughout August, see *Clarke Papers*, iii. 161.]

Oliver, we find, spoke much of 'the Covenants;' which indeed are the grand axis of all, in that Puritan Universe of his. Two Covenants; one of Works, with fearful Judgment for our shortcomings therein; one of Grace and unspeakable mercy;—gracious Engagements, 'Covenants,' which the Eternal God has vouchsafed to make with His feeble creature Man. Two; and by Christ's Death they have become One: there for Oliver is the divine solution of this our Mystery of Life.[1] "They were "Two," he was heard ejaculating: "Two, but put into One before "the Foundation of the World!" And again: "It is holy and "true, it is holy and true, it is holy and true!—Who made it "holy and true? The Mediator of the Covenant!" And again: "The Covenant is but One. Faith in the Covenant is my only "support. And if I believe not, He abides faithful!" When his Children and Wife stood weeping round him, he said: "Love "not this world. I say unto you, it is not good that you should "love this world!" No. "Children, live like Christians:—I leave

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[1] Much intricate intense reasoning to this effect, on this subject, in Owen's Works, among others.

"you the Covenant to feed upon!" Yea, my brave one; even so! The Covenant, and eternal Soul of Covenants, remains sure to all the faithful deeper than the Foundations of this World; earlier than they, and more lasting than they!—

Look also at the following; dark hues and bright; immortal light-beams struggling amid the black vapours of Death. Look; and conceive a great sacred scene, the sacredest this world sees; —and think of it, do not speak of it, in these mean days which have no sacred word. "Is there none that says, Who will deliver me from the peril?" moaned he once. Many hearts are praying, O wearied one! "Man can do nothing," rejoins he; "God can do what He will."—Another time, again thinking of the Covenant, "Is there none that will come and praise God," whose mercies endure for ever!— —

Here also are ejaculations caught up at intervals, undated, in those final days: "Lord, thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works!"—Once he was heard saying, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!"[1] 'This was spoken three times,' says 'Harvey; 'his repetitions usually being very weighty, and with 'great vehemency of spirit.' Thrice over he said this; looking into the Eternal Kingdoms: "A fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!"— —But again: "All the Promises "of God are in *Him*, yes, and in Him Amen; to the glory of "God by us,—by *us* in Jesus Christ."— —"The Lord hath filled "me with as much assurance of His pardon, and His love, as "my soul can hold." "I think I am the poorest wretch that "lives: but I love God; or rather, am beloved of God."—"I "am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ "that strengtheneth me!"[2]

So pass, in the sickroom, in the sickbed, these last heavy uncertain days. 'The Godly Persons had great assurances of a return to their Prayers:' transcendent Human Wishes find in their own echo a kind of answer! They gave his Highness also some assurance that his life would be lengthened.[3] Hope was strong in many to the very end.

On Monday, August 30th, there roared and howled all day a mighty storm of wind. Ludlow, coming up to Town from

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[1] Hebrews x. 31.

[2] From Harvey; scattered over his Pamphlet.

[3] [It was said in London that he had had a revelation from God that he should recover.]

Essex, could not start in the morning for wind; tried it in the afternoon; still could not get along, in his coach, for headwind; had to stop at Epping.[1] On the morrow, Fleetwood came to him in the Protector's name, to ask, What he wanted here?—Nothing of public concernment, only to see my Mother-in-law! answered the solid man. For indeed he did not know that Oliver was dying; that the glorious hour of Disenthralment, and immortal 'Liberty' to plunge over precipices with one's self and one's Cause was so nigh!—It came; and he took the precipices, like a strongboned resolute blind gin-horse rejoicing in the breakage of its halter, in a very gallant constitutional manner. Adieu, my solid friend; if I go to Vevay, I will read thy Monument there, perhaps not without emotion, after all!— —

It was on this stormy Monday, while rocking winds, heard in the sickroom and everywhere, were piping aloud, that Thurloe and an Official person entered to inquire, Who, in case of the worst, was to be his Highness's Successor? The Successor is named in a sealed Paper already drawn-up, above a year ago, at Hampton Court; now lying in such and such a place. The Paper was sent for, searched for; it could never be found. Richard's is the name understood to have been written in that Paper: not a good name; but in fact one does not know. In ten years' time, had ten years more been granted, Richard might have become a fitter man; might have been cancelled, if palpably unfit. Or perhaps it was Fleetwood's name,—and the Paper, by certain parties, was stolen? None knows. On the Thursday night following, 'and not till then,' his Highness is understood to have formally named "Richard;"—or perhaps it might only be some heavy-laden "Yes, yes!" spoken, out of the thick death-slumbers, in answer to Thurloe's *question* "Richard?" The thing is a little uncertain.[2] It was, once more, a matter of much moment;—giving colour probably to all the subsequent Centuries of England, this answer!—

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[1] Ludlow, ii. 610, 12.

[2] Authorities in Godwin, iv. 572-3. But see also Thurloe, vii. 375; Fauconberg's second Letter there. [There is indeed a curious discrepancy between the accounts of Thurloe and Fauconberg, both of whom might be supposed to know what had happened. Thurloe says "he did it upon Monday" (vii. 372); Fauconberg "the preceding night [to his death] and not before." This last tallies with what Bordeaux wrote to Mazarin. On August 31 (Tuesday) he said that the Protector's death was expected every hour, and that his family had done nothing in regard to the future; no one daring to mention the succession. Next day (Wednesday) he wrote again saying that he was informed by Lord Fauconberg that an extraordinary rally had taken place and that they meant to take advantage of it to get Lord Richard established. On the 3rd, in announcing the Protector's death, Lord Fauconberg

On or near the night of the same stormy Monday, 'two or three days before he died,' we are to place that Prayer his Highness was heard uttering; which, as taken down by his attendants, exists in many old Notebooks. In the tumult of the winds, the dying Oliver was heard uttering this

PRAYER

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in Covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the Name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy People too. And pardon the folly of this short Prayer:—Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.

'Some variation there is,' says Harvey, 'of this Prayer, as to 'the account divers give of it; and something is here omitted. 'But so much is certain, that these were his requests. Wherein 'his heart was so carried out for God and His People,—yea in'deed for some who had added no little sorrow to him,' the Anabaptist Republicans, and others,—'that at this time he seems

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wrote to Bordeaux that His Highness "had had time" to name Lord Richard as his successor, and that it had been announced to the Council that "last evening the Protector, by a nuncupative testament" had named his eldest son.]

'to forget his own Family and nearest relations.' Which indeed is to be remarked.

Thursday night the Writer of our old Pamphlet was himself in attendance on his Highness; and has preserved a trait or two; with which let us hasten to conclude. Tomorrow is September Third, always kept as a Thanksgiving day, since the Victories of Dunbar and Worcester. The wearied one, 'that very night before the Lord took him to his everlasting rest,' was heard thus, with oppressed voice, speaking:

'"Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not"——Then 'his speech failed him, but as I apprehended, it was, "He will 'not leave me." This saying, "God is good," he frequently used 'all along; and would speak it with much cheerfulness, and fer-'vour of spirit, in the midst of his pains.—Again he said: "I 'would be willing to live to be farther serviceable to God and 'His People: but my work is done. Yet God will be with His 'People."

'He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often 'to himself. And there being something to drink offered him, 'was desired To take the same, and endeavour to sleep—Unto 'which he answered: "It it not my design to drink or sleep; 'but my design is, to make what haste I can to be gone."—

'Afterwards, towards morning, he used divers holy expressions, 'implying much inward consolation and peace; among the rest 'he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, *annihilating* and 'judging himself. And truly it was observed, that a public spirit 'to God's Cause did breathe in him,—as in his lifetime, so now 'to his very last.'

When the morrow's sun rose, Oliver was speechless; between three and four in the afternoon, he lay dead. Friday, 3rd September 1658. "The consternation and astonishment of all people," writes Fauconberg,[1] "are inexpressible; their hearts seem as if "sunk within them. My poor Wife,—I know not what on earth "to do with her. When seemingly quieted, she bursts out again "into a passion that tears her very heart in pieces."—Husht, poor weeping Mary! Here is a Life-battle right nobly done. Seest thou not,

'The storm is changed into a calm,
At His command and will;
So that the waves which raged before
Now quiet are and still!

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[1] To Henry Cromwell, 7th September 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 275).

Then are *they* glad,—because at rest
And quiet now they be :
So to the haven He them brings
Which they desired to see.'[1]

'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord;' blessed are the valiant that have lived in the Lord. 'Amen, saith the Spirit,'—Amen. 'They do rest from their labours, and their works follow them.'

'Their works follow them.' As, I think, this Oliver Cromwell's works have done and are still doing! We have had our 'Revolutions of Eighty-eight,' officially called 'glorious;' and other Revolutions not yet called glorious; and somewhat has been gained for poor Mankind. Men's ears are not now slit-off by rash Officiality; Officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous Star-chambers, branding-irons, chimerical Kings and Surplices at All-hallowtide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him!—The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, do not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life, is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things; and no owl's voice, this way or that, in the least avails in the matter.—But we have to end here.

Oliver is gone; and with him England's Puritanism, laboriously built together by this man, and made a thing far-shining, miraculous to its own Century, and memorable to all the Centuries, soon goes. Puritanism, without its King, is *kingless,* anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision; staggers, plunges into ever deeper anarchy; King, Defender of the Puritan Faith there can now none be found;—and nothing is left but to recall the old disowned Defender with the remnants of His Four Surplices, and Two Centuries of *Hypocrisis* (or Play-acting *not* so-called), and put-up with all that, the best we may. The Genius of England no longer soars Sunward, world-defiant, like an Eagle through the storms, 'mewing her mighty youth,' as John Milton saw her do: the Genius of England, much liker a greedy Ostrich intent on provender and a whole skin mainly, stands with its *other* extremity Sunward; with its Ostrich-head stuck into the readiest bush, of old Church-tippets, King-cloaks, or what other 'sheltering Fallacy' there may be, and *so* awaits the issue. The issue has been slow; but it is now seen to have been inevitable. No Ostrich, intent on gross terrene provender, and sticking its head into Fallacies, but will be awakened one day,—in a terrible *à-posteriori* manner, if not otherwise!—— Awake before it come to that; gods and men bid us awake! The Voices of our Fathers, with thousandfold stern monition to one and all, bid us awake.

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[1] [Psalm cvii. Rouse's version.]

APPENDIX

No. 1

LETTER TO DOWNHALL

[Vol. i. p. 48]

THE stolen Letter of the Ashmole Museum has been found printed, and even reprinted. It is of the last degree of insignificance: a mere Note of Invitation to Downhall to stand 'Godfather unto my child.' Man-child now ten days old,[1] who, as we may see, is christened 'on Thursday next' by the name of RICHARD,—and had strange ups and downs as a Man when it came to that!

To his approved good Friend Mr. Henry Downhale, at his Chambers in St. John's College: These

Huntingdon, 14th October 1626.

LOVING SIR,

Make me so much your servant as to be[2] Godfather unto my child. I would myself have come over unto you to have made a more formal invitation, but my occasions would not permit: and therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by

Your friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

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[1] Vol. i. p. 62.

[2] 'by being' in *orig.*

* Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (London, 1771), i. 261 *n.*

Of this Downhall, sometimes written Down*hault*, and even Down*ett* and Down*tell;* who grounds his claim, such as it is, to human remembrance on the above small Note from Oliver,—a helpful hand has, with unsubduable research, discovered various particulars, which might amount almost to an outline of a history of Downhall, were such needed. He was of Northamptonshire, come of gentlefolks in that County. Admitted Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th April 1614;—had known Oliver, and apparently been helpful and instructive to him, two years after that. More interesting still, he this same Downhall was Vicar of St. Ives when Oliver came thither in 1635; still Vicar when Oliver left it, though with far other tendencies than Oliver's now; and had, alas, to be 'ejected with his Curate, in 1642,' as an Anti-Puritan Malignant:[1]—Oliver's course and his having altogether parted now! Nay farther, the same Downhall, surviving the Restoration, became 'Archdeacon of Huntingdon' in 1667: fifty-one years ago he had lodged there as Oliver Cromwell's Guest and Gossip; and now he comes as Archdeacon,—with a very strange set of *Annals* written in his old head, poor Downhall! He died 'at Cottingham in Northamptonshire, his native region, in the winter-time of 1669;'—and so, with his Ashmole Letter, ends.[2]

No. 2

At Ely

[Vol. i. p. 84]

There is at Ely a Charitable Foundation now above four centuries old; which in Oliver's time was named the *Ely Feoffees' Fund*, and is now known as *Parsons' Charity;* the old Records of which, though somewhat mutilated during those years, offer one or two faint but indubitable vestiges of Oliver, not to be neglected on the present occasion.

This *Charity* of ancient worthy Thomas *Parsons*, it appears, had, shortly before Oliver's arrival in Ely, been somewhat remodelled by a new Royal Charter: To be henceforth more especially devoted to the Poor of Ely; to be governed by Twelve Feoffees; namely, by Three

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[1] Vol. i. p. 78. [For refusing to admit a factious lecturer, Walker says. He was turned out of his living of Toft in 1643 or 1644 by the Earl of Manchester, "for keeping ignorant curates . . . who also observed the ceremonies" and for being an enemy to Parliament.]

[2] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 187; and MS. communicated by Mr. Cooper, resting on the following formidable mass of documentary Authorities:

Cole MSS. (which is a Transcript of Baker's *History of St. John's College*), 166, 358. Rymer's *Fœdera*, xix. 261. Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 160. Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, pp. 207, 251. Walker's *Sufferings*, ii. 129, 130. Wood's *Athenæ* (2d edition, passage wanting in both the 1st and 3d), ii. 1179.

Dignitaries of the Cathedral, and by Nine Townsmen of the better sort, who are permanent, and fill up their own vacancies,[1]—of which latter class, Oliver Cromwell Esquire, most likely elected in his Uncle's stead, was straightway made one. The old Books, as we say, are specially defective in those years; 'have lost forty or fifty leaves at the end of Book I., and 12 leaves at the beginning of Book II.,';—leaves cut out for the sake of Oliver's autograph, or as probably for other reasons. Detached papers, however, still indicate that Oliver was one of the Feoffees, and a moderately diligent one, almost from his first residence there. Here, under date some six or seven months after his arrival, is a small entry in certain loose papers, labelled '*The Accompts of Mr. John Hand and Mr. Wm. Crauford, Collectors of the Revenewes belonging to the Towne of Ely*' (that is, to Parsons' Charity in Ely); and under this special head, '*The Disbursements of Mr. John Hand, from the — of August* 1636 *unto the — of —* 1641:

'Given to divers Poore People at ye Work-house, in the 'presence of Mr. Archdeacon of Ely,[2] Mr. Oliver 'Cromwell, Mr. John Goodricke and others, 10th 'February 1636, as appeareth	£16 14 0.'

And under this other head, '*The Disbursements of Mr. Crauford*, which unluckily are not dated, and run vaguely from 1636 to 1641:

'Item to Jones, by Mr. Cromwell's consent . .	£1 0 0.'

Twice or thrice elsewhere the name of Cromwell is mentioned, but not as indicating activity on his part, indicating merely Feoffeeship and passivity;[3]—except in the following instance, where there is still extant a small Letter of his. 'Mr. Hand,' as we have seen, is one of the 'Collectors,' himself likewise a Feoffee or Governor, the Governors (it would appear) taking that office in turn.

'*To Mr. Hand, at Ely: These*'

'Ely,' 13th September 1638.

MR. HAND,

I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your money. I desire you to deliver forty shillings of the Town money to this bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the gentlemen will not allow it at the time of account, keep this note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest,

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[1] *Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities* (London, 1837): distinct account of it there, § *Cambridgeshire*, pp. 218-20.

[2] One 'Wigmore;' the Dean was 'William Fuller;' the Bishop 'Matthew Wren,' very famous for his Popish Candles and other fripperies, who lay long in the Tower afterwards. These were the three Clerical Feoffees in Oliver's time.

[3] Excerpts of Documents obligingly communicated by the Dean of Ely,—now *penes* Mr. Cooper of Cambridge.

Your loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Poor 'Benson' is an old invalid. Among Mr. Hand's Disbursements for the year 1636 is this,

'For phisicke and surgery for old Benson .	£2 7 4.'

And among Crauford's, of we know not what year,

'To Benson at divers times	£0 15 0.'

Let him have forty shillings more, poor old man; and if the Gentlemen won't allow it, Oliver Cromwell will pay it out of his own purse.

No. 3.

CAMBRIDGE: CORPORATION (1641); WHELOCKE (1643).

[Vol. i. pp. 106;—118, 128.]

Two vestiges of Oliver at Cambridge, in his parliamentary and in his military capacity, there still are.

1. The first, which relates to a once very public Affair, is his Letter (his and Lowry's) to the Cambridge Authorities, in May 1641; Letter accompanying the celebrated 'Protestation and Preamble' just sent forth by the House of Commons, with earnest invitation to all constituencies to adopt the same.

'*A Preamble, with the Protestation made by the whole House of Commons, the* 3*d of May* 1641, *and assented unto by the Lords of the Upper House, the* 4*th of May.*

'We, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons House, 'in Parliament, finding, to the grief of our hearts, That the designs 'of the Priests and Jesuits, and other Adherents to the See of Rome, 'have been of late more boldly and frequently put in practice than 'formerly, to the undermining, and danger of ruin, of the True Re'formed Religion in his Majesty's Dominions established: And finding

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* *Memoirs of the Protector*, by Oliver Cromwell, a Descendant &c. (London, 1822), i. 351; where also (p. 350) is found, in a very indistinct state, the above-given Entry from *Hand's Accompts*, misdated '1641,' instead of 10th February 1636-7. The *Letter* to Hand 'has not been among the Feoffees' Papers for several years;' and is now (1846) none knows where.

'also that there hath been, and having cause to suspect there still are 'even during the sitting in Parliament, endeavours to subvert the 'Fundamental Laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce the 'exercise of an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, by most pernicious and wicked counsels, plots and conspiracies: And that the long 'intermission, and unhappier breach, of Parliaments hath occasioned 'many illegal Taxations, whereupon the Subjects have been prosecuted 'and grieved: And that divers Innovations and Superstitions have been 'brought into the Church; multitudes driven out of his Majesty's 'dominions; jealousies raised and fomented between the King and 'People; a Popish Army levied in Ireland,[1] and Two Armies brought 'into the bowels of this Kingdom, to the hazard of his Majesty's royal 'Person, the consumption of the revenue of the Crown, and the treasure 'of this Realm: And lastly, finding great causes of jealousy that endeavours[2] have been and are used to bring the English Army into 'misunderstanding of this Parliament, thereby to incline that Army by 'force to bring to pass those wicked counsels,—

'Have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declaration of 'our united affections and resolutions; and to make this ensuing

'PROTESTATION

'I, A. B., do in the Presence of Almighty God promise, vow and 'protest, To maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may, with my 'life, power and estate, the True Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery 'and Popish Innovations, and according to the duty of my allegiance 'to his Majesty's royal Person, Honour and Estate: as also the Power 'and Privileges of Parliament, the Lawful Rights and Liberties of the 'Subject; and every Person that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever 'he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, 'as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by good ways and means 'endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall, by force, 'practice, counsel, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do anything to the 'contrary in this present Protestation contained.

'And further I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to 'preserve the union and peace betwixt the Three Kingdoms of England, 'Scotland and Ireland: and neither for hope, fear nor other respect, 'shall relinquish this Promise, Vow and Protestation.'[3]

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[1] By Strafford lately, against the Scots and their enterprises.

[2] This is the important point, nearly shaded out of sight: 'finding the great causes of jealousy, endeavours have' &c. is the tremulous, indistinct and even ungrammatical phrase in the Original.

[3] *Commons Journals*, ii. 132 (3d May 1641).

This is on Monday, 3d May 1641, while the Apprentices are bellowing in Palaceyard: Cromwell is one of those that take the Protestation this same Monday, present in the House while the redacting of it goes on. Long lists of Members take it,—not John Lowry, who I conclude must have been absent. On Wednesday, 5th May, there is this Order: '*Ordered*, That the Protestation made by the Members of this House, 'with the Preamble, shall be together printed;' Clerk to attest the copies; all Members to send them down to the respective Sheriffs, Justices, to the respective Cities, Boroughs, and 'intimate with what 'willingness the Members made this Protestation; and that as they 'justify the taking of it in themselves, so they cannot but approve it 'in them that shall likewise take it.'

Strict *Order*, at the same time, That all Members 'now in Town and not sick shall appear here Tomorrow at Eight of Clock,' and take this Protestation: non-appearance to be 'accounted a contempt of this House,' and expose one to be expelled, or worse;—in spite of which John Lowry still does not sign, not till Friday morning, after even 'Philip Warwick' and 'Endymion Porter' have signed; whence I infer he was out of Town or unwell.[1]—This Letter, which seems to be of Cromwell's writing, still stands on the Corporation Books of Cambridge; read in Common Council there on the 11th of May; at which time, said Letter being read, the Town Authorities did one and all zealously accept the same, and signed the Protestation on the spot. The Letter is not dated; but as Lowry signed on Friday, and the Corporation meeting is on Tuesday the 11th, we may safely guess the Letter to have arrived on Monday, and to have been written on Saturday.

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge,
with the rest of that Body: Present these

'London, 8th' May 1641.

GENTLEMEN,

We heartily salute you; and herewith (according to the directions of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled), send unto you a Protestation by them lately made, the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The preamble therewith printed doth declare the weighty reasons inducing them, in their own persons, to begin 'making it.'

We shall only let you know that, with alacrity and willingness, the members of that body entered thereinto. It was in them a right honourable and necessary act; not unworthy your imitation. You shall hereby as the body represented avow the practice of the representative. The conformity is in itself praiseworthy; and will be by them approved. The result may (through the Almighty's blessing) become stability and security to the whole kingdom. Combination carries strength with it. It's dreadful to adversaries; especially when it's in order to the duty we owe to God, to the loyalty we owe to our King and Sovereign, and to the affection due to our country and liberties, the main ends of this Protestation now herewith sent you.

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[1] *Commons Journals*, ii. 133, 5, 6, 7. Rushworth, iv. 241 *et seqq.*

We say no more, but commit you to the protection of Him, who is able to save you; desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours, which indeed are not ours but the Lord's and yours, whom we desire to serve in integrity: and bidding you heartily farewell, rest,

Your loving friends to be commanded,
Oliver Cromwell.
John Lowry.*

2. The second is a small antiquarian relic (date, Spring, 1643); dim and of little worth in its detached form, but capable of lighting itself up, and the reader's fancy along with it, when set in the right combination.

'Mr. Abraham Whelocke,' whose name and works are still well enough known, was, later in that century, 'the celebrated Professor of Arabic at Oxford;' and is now, we perceive, in this Spring 1643, a Student at Cambridge; of meditative peripatetic habits; often walking into the country with a little Arabic Volume in his pocket;—apt to be fluttered at the Town Gates by these new military arrangements. In this difficulty he calls on Colonel Cromwell; and—But his little Volume itself is still extant, and tells its own story and his. A thin duodecimo, in white hogskin binding now grown very brown; size handy for the smallest coat-pocket:—and on the fly-leaf, in Oliver's hand, stands written (signed successively by three other Committee-men whom Whelocke would soon search out for the feat):

4th April 1643.

Suffer the Bearer hereof, Mr. Abraham Whelocke, to pass your guards so often as he shall have occasion, into and out of Cambridge, towards Little Shelford or any other place; and this shall be your warrant.

Tho. Cooke. Oliver Cromwell.‡
Edw. Clenche. James Thompson.

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* Cambridge Corporation Day-Book: in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 311. Printed also, with errors, in O. Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector*, i. 406.

‡ Whelocke's Arabic Volume (a version into Arabic of one of Bellarmin's Books, by some Armenian Patriarch, for benefit of the Heathen, Rome, 1627,—with slight marks of Whelocke on the other fly-leaves): Volume now in the possession of Dr. Lee, Hartwell, Buckinghamshire, who has kindly given me sight of it.—Next year, under this Pass of Oliver's, lower half of the same fly-leaf, there is a Renewal of it,

No. 4

Eastern Association: Threatened Rising of Papists in Norfolk

[Vol. i. p. 116]

Two Committee-Letters, both of Oliver's writing; illustrations of his diligent procedure in the birth-time of the Eastern Association.

To our noble Friends, Sir John Hobert, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, 'Sir' John Spelman, Knights and Baronets, and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the County of Norfolk: Present these

'Cambridge, 26th January 1642.'

Gentlemen,

The Parliament and the Lord General have taken into their care the peace and protection of these Eastern parts of the kingdom; and to that end have sent down hither some part of their forces,—as likewise a[1] Commission, with certain Instructions to us and others directed; all which do highly concern the peace and safety of your county. Therefore we intreat that some of you would give us a meeting at Mildenhall[2] in Suffolk, on Tuesday the 31st of this instant January. And in the mean time that you would make all possible speed to have in a readiness, against any[3] notice shall be given, a considerable force of Horse and Foot to join with us, to keep any enemy's force from breaking-in upon your yet peaceable country. For we have certain intelligence that some of Prince Rupert's forces are come as far as Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and that the Papists in Norfolk are solicited to rise presently upon you.

Thus presenting all our neighbourly and loving respects, we rest,

Your respective friends to serve you,

Terrell Jocelyn.
Willm. Marche.
Edw. Clenche.
James Thomson.

Miles Sandys.
Franc. Russell.
Oliver Cromwell.
Thomas Symons.
Robert Clerke.*

or Copy in almost precisely the same terms, written and signed by the Earl of Manchester (in ink now grown very pale, while Oliver's has changed to strong red-brown), of date '27th February 1643'-4, when his Lordship again for a time (see *antea*, vol. i. p. 170) had become chief Authority in Cambridge. (*Note of* 1857.)

[1] ['the' erased.]

[2] 'Millnall' he writes.

[3] ['any' inserted with a *caret*: both corrections apparently in Cromwell's hand.]

* Original in *Tanner MSS.* lxiv. 116.

To our worthy Friends, Sir John Hobert, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, Sir John Spelman, Knights and Baronets: Present these

Cambridge, 27th January 1642.

GENTLEMEN,

The grounds of your jealousies are real. They concur with our intelligences from Windsor; the sum whereof we give unto you:

From a prisoner taken by Sir Samuel Luke (one Mr. Gaudy,[1] a Captain of dragooners) this confession was drawn, That the Papists by direction from Oxford should rise in Norfolk. Whereupon it was desired from thence That Sir Henry Benningfield and Mr. Gaudy their persons should be seized, and that we[2] should do our[3] endeavour to make stay of the person and letter which contained this encouragement to them,—he being described by his horse and clothes. But we believe 'he' was past us before we had notice, for our Scouts could not light on him.

As for the other consideration of his Majesty's forces being invited into these parts, we have confirmation thereof from all hands;—and there is this reason to doubt it will be so, because his Majesty is weary of Oxford; there being little in those parts left to sustain his Army,—and surely the fulness of these parts and fitness of them for Horse are too-too good arguments to invite him[4] hither. Thus we agree in the grounds of our doubt and fear.

The next thought is of remedy. And in this we account it our happiness to consult with you of common safety, to be had either by the Association you speak of, or by[5] any other consideration by communication of assistance, according to necessity. Wherein I hope you shall find all readiness and cheerfulness in us, to assist you to break any strength that shall[6] be gathered; or to prevent it, if desired,—having timely notice given from you thereof. The way will be best settled, if you give us a meeting, according to our desire by a letter particularly prepared[1] before we received yours, and now sent unto you for that purpose together with these.

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[1] [Sir Samuel Luke (said to be the original of Hudibras) was M.P. for Bedford, governor of Newport Pagnell garrison, and colonel of a regiment of horse. Also, at this time, Scout-Master General. Carlyle printed "Gandy," but "Gaudy" is right.]

[2] ['I' erased.]

[3] ['my' erased.]

[4] ['them' erased. All the corrections in Cromwell's hand.]

[5] Comes to the end of the sheet, and turns to the margin.

[6] ['may' erased, and 'shall' substituted.]

This is all we can say for the present; but that we are,

Your friends and servants,

Miles Sandys.
Thom. Martyn. Franc. Russell. Terrell Jocelyn.
Oliver Cromwell. Thos. Symons.
Willm. Marche. Robert Clerke.
Ed. Clenche. James Thomson.

'P.S.' We sent to Sir William Spring to offer him our assistance for the apprehension of Sir H. Benningfield, &c.[2] We have not yet received any answer.—We knew not how to address ourselves to you. It's our desire to assist you in that or any other public service.*

No. 5

Gainsborough Fight

[Vol. i. p. 144.]

Here are other details concerning Gainsborough Fight; Two Letters upon it that have successively turned up.

1. The first is a Letter two days earlier in date; evidently not written by Cromwell, though signed by him and two chief Lincolnshire Committee-men, as he passes through their City on his way to Huntingdon. Sir Edward Ayscough, or 'Ayscoghe' as he here signs himself,—probably a kinsman of Sir George the Sailor's, possibly the father of the 'Captain Ayscoghe' mentioned here,—he and John Broxholme, Esq., both of the Lincolnshire Committee,[3] are clearly the writers of the present Letter.

"*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament: These*

"Lincoln; 29th July 1643 (Six o'clock at night).

"Noble Sir,—We, having solicited a conjunction of Forces towards "the raising of the Siege of Gainsborough, did appoint a general

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[1] ['and di' (meaning 'directed') erased. Preceding letter, seemingly, or rather copy of it.]

[2] ['and' erased; '&c.' substituted.]

[3] Husband, ii. 171.

* Original, in Cromwell's own hand throughout, in *Tanner MSS.* lxiv. 129. [This No. 4. was an insertion in the 1857 edition. In the 1850 edition "Gainsborough Fight" was No. 4.]

"rendezvous at North Scarle to be upon Thursday the 27th of July. "To the which place, Sir John Meldrum with about three-hundred "Horse and Dragoons, and Colonel Cromwell with about six or seven "Troops of Horse and about one-hundred Dragoons, came. With these "they marched towards Gainsborough; and meeting with a good party "of the Enemy about a mile from the Town, beat them back,—but not "with any commendations to our Dragooners. We advanced still to-"wards the Enemy, all along under the Cony-Warren, which is upon "a high Hill above Gainsborough. The Lincoln Troops had the van, "two Northampton, and three small Troops of Nottingham the battle, "and Colonel Cromwell the rear; the Enemy in the mean time with "his body keeping the top of the Hill.

"Some of the Lincoln Troops began to advance up the Hill; which "were opposed by a force of the Enemy: but our men repelled them, "until all our whole body was got up the Hill. The Enemy kept his "ground; which he chose for his best advantage, with a body of Horse "of about three Regiments of Horse, and a reserve behind them con-"sisting of General Cavendish his Regiment, which was a very full "regiment. We presently put our Horse in order; which we could "hardly do by reason of the cony-holes and the difficult ascent up the "Hill; the Enemy being within musket-shot of us, and advancing "towards us before we could get ourselves into any good order. But "with those Troops we could get up, we charged the greater body of "the Enemy; came-up to the sword's point; and disputed it so a little "with them, that our men pressing heavily upon them, they could not "bear it, but all their body ran away, some on the one side of their "Reserve, others on the other. Divers of our Troops pursuing had "the chase about six miles.

"General Cavendish with his Regiment standing firm all the while, "and facing some of our Troops that did not follow the chase, Colonel "Cromwell, with his Major Whalley and one or two Troops more, "were following the chase, and were in the rear of that Regiment. "When they saw the body stand unbroken, 'they' endeavoured, with "much ado, to get into a body those three or four Troops which were "divided, which when they had done,—perceiving the Enemy to "charge two or three of the Lincoln scattered Troops, and making "them retire by reason of their being many more than they in number; "and the rest being elsewhere engaged and following the chase,— "Colonel Cromwell with his three Troops followed them in the rear; "brake this Regiment; and forced their General, with divers of their "men, into a quagmire in the bottom of the Hill, where one of "Colonel Cromwell's men cut General Cavendish on the head; by "reason whereof he fell off his horse; and the Colonel's[1] Captain-"Lieutenant thrust him into the side, whereof within two hours he "died;—the rest chasing the Regiment quite out of the field, having "execution of them, so that the field was left wholly unto us, not a

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[1] Original has 'his,' and for 'General Cavendish' in the foregoing line, 'him.'

"man appearing. Upon this, divers of our men went into the Town; "carrying-in to my Lord Willoughby some of the ammunition we "brought for him;—believing our work was all at an end; saving to "take care how to bring further provisions into the Town, to enable "it to stand a siege in case my Lord Newcastle should draw-up with "his Army to attempt it.

"Whilst we were considering of these things, word was brought us "That there was a small remainder of the Enemy's force not yet "meddled with, 'about a mile' beyond Gainsborough, with some Foot, "and two pieces of Ordnance. We having no Foot, desired to have "some out of the Town, which my Lord Willoughby granted, and "sent us about six-hundred Foot: with these we advanced towards the "Enemy. When we came thither to the top of the hill, we beat divers "Troops of the Enemy's Horse back, but at the bottom we saw a Regi-"ment of Foot; after that another (my Lord Newcastle's own Regiment, "consisting of nineteen colours) appearing also, and many Horse;—"which indeed was his Army. Seeing these there so unexpectedly, we "advised what to do.

"Colonel Cromwell was sent to command the Foot to retire, and to "draw-off the Horse. By the time he came to them, the Enemy was "marching up the hill. The Foot did retire disorderly into the Town, "which was not much above a quarter of a mile from them; upon "whom the Enemy's Horse did some small execution. The Horse also "did retire in some disorder, about half a mile, until they came to "the end of a field where a passage was; where, by the endeavour of "Colonel Cromwell, 'of' Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, a "body was drawn up. With these we faced[1] the Enemy; stayed their "pursuit; and opposed them with about four Troops of Colonel Crom-"well's and four Lincoln Troops; the Enemy's body in the mean time "increasing very much from the Army. But such was the goodness "of God, giving courage and valour to our men and officers, that whilst "Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, sometimes the one with four "Troops faced the Enemy, sometimes the other, to the exceeding glory "of God be it spoken, and the great honour of those two Gentlemen, "they with this handful forced the Enemy so, and dared them to their "teeth in at least eight or nine several removes,—the Enemy following "at their heels; and they, though their horses were exceedingly tired "retreated in this order, near carbine-shot of the Enemy, who thus "followed them, firing upon them; Colonel Cromwell gathering-up "the main body and facing them behind those two lesser bodies,—that, "in despite of the Enemy, we brought-off our Horse in this order, "without the loss of two men.

"Thus have you a true relation of this notable service: wherein God "is to have all the glory. And care must be taken speedily to relieve "this noble Lord from his and the State's Enemies, by a speedy force sent "unto us,—and that without delay; or else he will be lost, and that

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[1] ["forced" in *MS.*]

"important Town, and all those parts; and way made for this Army "instantly to advance into the South. Thus resting upon your care "in speeding present succours hither, we humbly take our leaves, and "remain,

"Your humble servants,
"Edw. Ayscoghe.
"Oliver Cromwell.
"Jo. Broxolme." [1]

2. The Second Letter, the Original of which still exists, is of much greater interest; being from Cromwell's own hand, and evidently thrown-off in a quite familiar and even hasty fashion. Written, as would appear, on the march from Lincoln to Huntingdon; no mention precisely where; but probably at the Army's quarters on the evening of their first day's march homewards. In the Original the *surname* of the 'Sir John' to whom the Letter addresses itself has been, probably by some royalist descendant (of mixed emotions), so industriously crossed out with many strokes of the pen, that not only is it entirely illegible, but the polite possessor of the Autograph cannot undertake to guess for me how many letters may have been in the word. On other grounds I pretty confidently undertake, nevertheless, to read *Wray:* Sir John Wray of Glentworth, member for Lincolnshire, and on the Committee of that County; at present, I suppose, attending his duty in London. Glentworth House is almost within sight and sound of these transactions; the well-affected Knight of the Shire, for many reasons, may fitly hear a word of them, while we rest from our march. Sir John's Mother, I find by the Dryasdust records [2] was a Montague of Boughton; so that 'your noble Kinsman' near the end of this Letter will mean my Lord of Manchester, 'Serjeant-Major of the Association,' a man well qualified to give information.

To my noble Friend Sir John 'Wraye,' Knight and Baronet: Present these

'Eastern Association,' 30th July 1643.

Sir,

The particular respects I have received at your hands do much oblige me, but the great affection you bear to the public much more: for that cause I am bold to acquaint you with some late passages wherein it hath pleased God to favour us; which, I am assured, will be welcome to you.

After Burlye House was taken, we went towards Gainsbrowe to a general rendezvous, where met us Lincolnshire troops; so that we were nineteen or twenty Troops, when we were together, of Horse[1] and about three or four Troops of Dragooners. We marched with this force to Gainsbrowe. Upon Friday morning, being the 28th day of July, we met with a forlorn-hope of the Enemy, and with our men brake it in. We marched on to[2] the Town's end; the Enemy being upon the top of a very steep Hill over our heads, some of our men attempted to march up that Hill; the Enemy opposed; our men drove them up, and forced their passage. By that time we came up, we saw the Enemy well set in two bodies: the foremost a large fair body, the other a reserve consisting of six or seven brave Troops. Before we could get our force into order, the great body of the Enemy advanced; they were within musket-shot of us when we came to the pitch of the Hill: we advanced likewise towards them; and both charged, each upon other: thus advancing, we came to pistol and sword's point, both in that close order that it was disputed very strongly who should break the other; but our men pressing a little heavily upon them, they began to give back, which our men perceiving, instantly forced them; brake that whole body; some of them flying on this side, some on the other side, of the reserve; our men, pursuing them in great disorder, had the execution about four, or some say six miles. With much ado, this done, and all their force being gone, not one man standing, but all beaten out of the field, we drew up our body together, and kept the field, the half of our men being well worn in the chase of the Enemy.

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[1] *Tanner MS.* lxii. 194; and, with little or no variation, *Baker MS.* xxviii. 434.

[2] Burke's *Extinct Baronetage*, § *Wray.*

Upon this we endeavoured the business we came for; which was the relief of the Town with Ammunition. We sent-in some powder, which was the great want of that Town; which done, word was brought us that the Enemy had about six Troops of Horse, and three-hundred Foot, a little on the other side of the Town. Upon this we drew some musketeers out of the Town, and with our body of horse marched towards them. We saw two Troops towards the Mill, which my men drove down into a little village at the bottom of the Hill: when we [*we* emphatic] came with our horse to the top of that Hill, we saw in the bottom a whole regiment of Foot, after that another and another, and, as some counted, about fifty colours of Foot, [with a great body of horse];[3] which indeed was my Lord Newcastle's Army; with which he now besieges Gainsbrowe.

My Lord Willoughby commanded me to bring off the Foot and Horse, which I endeavoured; but the Foot (the Enemy pressing on with the Army) retreated in some disorder into the Town, being of that Garrison. Our Horse also, being wearied, and unexpectedly pressed by this new force, so great, gave off, not being able to brave the charge; but, with some difficulty, we got our Horse into a body, and with them faced the Enemy; and retreated in such order that though the Enemy followed hard, yet they were not able to disorder us, but we got them off safe to Lincoln from this fresh force, and lost not one man. The honour of this retreat, equal to any of late times, is due to Major Whalley and Captain Ascough, next under God.

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[1] [Carlyle printed "of Horse and Foot" but it is not so in the Archæological Society's paper; and Cromwell would not speak of a troop of foot.]

[2] Means 'towards.'

[3] [The words in brackets were omitted by Carlyle.]

This relation I offer you for the honour of God, to whom be all the praise; as also to let you know you have some servants faithful to you, to incite to action. I beseech you let this good success quicken your continuing to this Engagement; it's great evidence of God's favour; let not your business be starved. I know, if all be of your mind, we shall have an honourable return; it's your own business: a reasonable strength now raised speedily, may do that which much more will not do after some time. Undoubtedly, if they succeed here, you will see them in the bowels of your Association. For the time, you will have it from your noble Kinsman and Colonel Palgrave: if we be not able in ten days to relieve Gainsbrowe, a noble Lord[1] will be lost, many good Foot, and a considerable pass over Trent into these parts.—The Lord prosper your endeavours and ours. I beseech you present my humble service to the high Honourable Lady. Sir, I am

Your faithful servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S.—I stayed two of my own Troops, and my Major stayed his; in all three. There were in front of the Enemy's reserve, three or four of the Lincoln Troops yet unbroken: the Enemy charged those Troops; utterly broke and chased them; so that none of the Troops on our part stood, but my three. Whilst the Enemy was following our flying Troops, I charged him on the rear with my three Troops; drove him down the Hill, brake him all to pieces; forced Lieutenant-General Cavendish into a bog, who fought in this reserve: one officer cut him on the head; and, as he lay, my Captain-Lieutenant Berry thrust him into the short ribs, of which he died, about two hours after, in Gainsbrowe.*

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[1] [*i.e.*, Lord Willoughby.]

* Original in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq., Great Yarmouth; printed in *Papers of Norfolk Archæological Society* (Norwich, Jan. 1848), pp. 45-50.

By this Postscript is at last settled the question, Who killed Charles Cavendish? It was 'my Captain-Lieutenant Berry;' he and no other, if any still wish to know. Richard Baxter's friend once; and otherwise a known man.

No. 6.

LETTER TWO DAYS PRIOR TO THAT CAMBRIDGE ONE

[Vol. i. p. 170]

'*To Sir Samuel Luke*' (*Member for Bedford, leading Committee man &c.*) : '*These*'[1]

[No date of place] 8 March 1643[-4.]

NOBLE SIR,

I beseech you cause three hundred Foot, under a Captain, to march to Buckingham upon Monday morning, there to quarter with four hundred Foot of Northampton, which Mr. Crew sends thither upon Monday next. There will be the Major-General 'Crawford' to command them. I am going for a thousand Foot more at least to be sent from Cambridge and out of the Association. If any man be come to you from Cambridge, I beseech you send him to me to Bedford with all speed; let him stay for me at the Swan.

Sir, I am your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Present my humble service to Colonel Ayliffe and tell him he promised me his coat of mail.*

No. 7

TWO LETTERS: ACTION AT ISLIP-BRIDGE AND BLETCHINGTON. DITTO AT BAMPTON-IN-THE-BUSH

[Vol. i. pp. 192, 194]

WRITTEN the night before that in the Text, on the same subject.

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[1] [See note on p. 229 above.]

* Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, iv. 225.

'*For the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Army: These*'

'Bletchington,' 24th April 1645.

Right Honourable,

I met at my rendezvous at Watlington, on Wednesday last; where I stayed somewhat long for the coming-up of the body of Horse, which your[1] Honour was pleased to give me the command of. After the coming whereof, I marched with all expedition to Wheatley-Bridge; having sent before to Major-General Browne, for what intelligence he could afford me of the state of affairs in Oxford (I being not so well acquainted in those parts), and the condition, and number, of the Enemy in Oxford. As himself informed me by letters, that Prince Maurice his forces were not in Oxford, as I supposed; and that, as he was informed by four very honest and faithful Gentlemen that came out of Oxford to him a little before the receipt of his letter, that there were twelve pieces of Ordnance with their carriages and waggons ready for their march; and in another place five more pieces with their carriages, ready to advance with their Convoy; after I received this satisfaction from Major-General Browne, I advanced this morning, being Thursday, the twenty-fourth of April, near Oxford. There I lay before the Enemy; 'who' perceiving it at Oxford, and they being in readiness to advance, sent out a party of Horse against me: part of the Queen's Regiment, part of the Earl of Northampton's Regiment, and part of the Lord Wilmot's Regiment; who made an infall upon me.

Whereupon your Honour's Regiment (lately mine own) I drew forth against the Enemy (who had drawn themselves into several Squadrons, to be ready for action); and your Honour's own Troop therein I commanded to charge a Squadron of the Enemy; who performed it so gallantly that, after a short firing, they entered the whole Squadron, and put them to a confusion; and the rest of my Horse presently entering after them, they made a total rout of the Enemy, and had the chase of them three or four miles, and killed two-hundred; took as many prisoners, and about four-hundred horses, and the Queen's colours, richly embroidered, with the Crown in the midst, and eighteen flower-de-luces wrought about all in gold, with a golden cross on the top. Many escaped to Oxford, and divers were drowned. Part of them likewise betook themselves to a strong House in Bletchington where Colonel Windebank kept a Garrison, with near two-hundred horse and foot therein; which, after surrounded, I summoned: but they seemed very dilatory in their answer. At last, they sent out Articles to me of surrender, which I have sent your Honour enclosed,[1] and after a large treaty thereupon, the surrender was agreed upon between us. They left behind them between two and three hundred muskets, seventy horses; besides other arms and ammunition. I humbly rest,

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[1] [The old pamphlet has "God's honour" but this appears to be a mis-reading.]

Your honour's humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

2. A few months since, in 1868, there has accidentally turned up, among the *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, and been reawakened into daylight and publicity, from its dark sleep of 223 years, the "Contemporaneous Copy" of a letter by Oliver himself; which curiously adjusts itself to its old combination here, completely elucidating for us those small Bletchington-Bampton transactions; and is in itself otherwise worth reading. It is of date the day before that Farringdon affair.

To the Right Honourable Committee of Both Kingdoms, at Derby House.

Farringdon, April 28, 1645.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Since my last it has pleased God to bless me with more success in your service. In pursuance of your commands, I marched from Bletchington to Middleton Stonnie, and from thence towards Whitny as privately as I could, believing that to be a good place for interposing between the King and the West, whether he intended Goring and Greenevill, or the two princes. In my march, I was informed of a body of foot which were marching towards Faringdon (which indeed were a commanded party of 300 which came a day before from Faringdon, under Col. Richard Vaughan, to strengthen Woodstock against me, and were now returning). I understood they were not above three hours march before me. I sent after them, my forlorn overtook them as they had gotten into enclosures not far from Bampton Bush, skirmished with them, they killed some of my horses, mine killed and got some of them, but they recovered the town before my body came up, and my forlorn not being strong enough was not able to do more than they did. The enemy presently barricadoed up the town; got a pretty strong house. My body coming up about eleven in the night, I sent them a summons. They slighted it; I put myself in a posture that they should not escape me, hoping to deal with them in the morning. My men charged them up to their barricadoes in the night, but truly they were of so good resolution that we could not force them from it, and indeed they killed some of my horses, and I was forced to wait until the morning. Besides, they had got a pass over a brook; in the night they strengthened themselves as well as they could in the Store House. In the morning I sent a drum to them, but their answer was, they would not quit except they might march out upon honourable terms. The terms I offered were to submit all to mercy; they refused with anger. I insisted upon them and prepared to storm. I sent them word to desire them to deliver out the gentleman and his family—which they did—for they must expect extremity, if they put me to a storm. After some time spent, all was yielded to mercy. Arms I took: muskets, near 200, besides other arms; about two barrels of powder; soldiers and officers near 200, nine score besides officers, the rest being scattered and killed before. The chief prisoners were Colonel Sir Richard Vaughan, Lieut.-Colonel Middleton and Major Lee; two or three captains and other officers.

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[1] Given in Rushworth, vi. 24.

**King's Pamphlets*, small 4to, no. 203, § 7. [E. 279.]

As I was upon my march, I heard of some horse of the enemy which crossed me towards Evesham. I sent Colonel Fiennes after them, whom God so blessed that he took about thirty prisoners, one hundred horse and three horse colours. Truly his diligence was great, and this I must testify, that I find no man more ready to all services than himself. I would [not] say so if I did not find it. If his men were at all considered, I should hope you might expect very real service from them. I speak this the rather, because I find him a gentleman of that fidelity to you and so conscientious, that he would all his troops were as religious and civil as any, and make[s] it a great par[t] of his care to get them so. In this march, my men also got one of the Queen's troopers and of them and others, about one hundred horses.

This morning, Col. John Fiennes sent me in the gentleman that waits upon the Lord Digbie in his chambers, who was going to General Goring about exchange of a prisoner. He tells me the King's forces were drawn out the last night to come to relieve Sir Richard Vaughan, and Leg commanded them. They were about 700 horse and 500 foot, but I believe they are gone back. He saith many of the horse were volunteer gentlemen, for I believe I have left him few others here. I looked upon his letters and found them directed to Marl[b]orough. He tells me Goring is about the Devizes. I asked him what further orders he had to him; he tells me he was only to bid him follow former orders. I pressed him to know what they were, and all that I could get was that it was to hasten with all he had, up to the King to Oxford. He saith he has about 3000 horse and 1000 foot; that he is discontented that Prince Rupert commanded away his foot. I am now quartered up to Faringdon. I shall have an eye towards him. I have that which was my regiment and a part of Col. Sydney's five troops [that] were recruited —and a part of Col. Vermuyden's and five troops of Col. Fiennes, three whereof, and Sir John Norwich's[1] and Captain Hammond's, I sent with the first prisoners to Aylesbury. It's great pity we want dragoons. I believe most of their petty garrisons might have been taken in and other services done; for the enemy is in high fear. God does terrify them. It's good to take the season; and surely God delights that you have endeavoured to reform your armies; and I beg it may be done more and more. Bad men and discontented say it's faction. I wish to be of the faction that desires to avoid the oppression of the poor people of this miserable nation, upon whom who can look without a bleeding heart. Truly it grieves my soul our men should still be upon free quarters as they are. I beseech you help it what and as soon as you can. My Lords, pardon me this boldness; it is because I find in these things wherein I serve you that He does all. I profess his very hand has led me. I preconsulted none of these things.

My Lords and gentlemen I wait your further pleasure, subscribing myself

OLIVER CROMWELL.[*]

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[1] Orig. illegible. [Carlyle filled in "Browne" but it must certainly be "Norwich."]

[*] *Notes and Queries*, 8 August, 1868—printed there, as I learn on enquiry, 'from a contemporaneous copy' found among the House of Lords MSS. in the course of some official examinations going on there; corrected and investigated into clearness for me by the kindness of John Forster, Esq., most obliging of Friends, whose final remark on it is: "As to Farringdon" (Letter xxvii. of text) "though Cromwell had now crossed the river, and was quartered up to the place, he was not in adequate force for reducing it." "It's great pity we want dragoons," is his remark in this letter; "and according to Rushworth's statement, he had already sent to Abingdon for four or five companies of infantry. Burgess knew very well, there is little doubt, the real state of affairs." (*Note of* 1869). [Now calendared in the Report on the MSS. of the House of Lords in the *Sixth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 56, b.]

No. 8

BATTLE OF NASEBY. BURIAL OF COLONEL PICKERING. TWO LETTERS CONCERNING ELY

[Vol. i. pp. 200, 223.]

(*a.*) THE following very rough Notes of a studious Tourist will perhaps be acceptable to some readers. Notes dashed down evidently in the most rough-and-ready manner, but with a vigilant eye both on the Old Books and on the actual Ground of Naseby; taken, as appears, in the year 1842.

‘*Battle of Naseby,* 14th June 1645: *From Sprigge* (London, 1647); *Rushworth,* vi. (London, 1701); *Old Pamphlets; and the Ground.*

‘*Fairfax's Stages towards Naseby* (Sprigge, p. 30 *et seqq.*). Wednesday, 11th June, a rainy day: Marched “from Stony Stratford to Wootton,”—three miles south of Northampton. Bad quarters there: “but the Mayor came,” &c.—Thursday, 12th June: From Wootton to (not “Guilsborough four miles west of Northampton,” as Sprigge writes, but evidently) Kislingbury and the Farmsteads round. The King “lies encamped on Burrough Hill” (five miles off); has been “hunting,” this day: “his horses all at grass.” The night again wet; Fairfax, riding about, all night, on the spy is stopped by one of his own sentries, &c.: “at Flower” (near Weedon), sees the King's Forces all astir on the Burrough Hill, about four in the morning; “firing their huts;” rapidly making off,—Northward, as it proved. At six, a Council of War. Cromwell, greatly to our joy, has just come-in from the Associated Counties,—“received with shouts.” Major Harrison, with horse, is sent towards Daventry to explore; Ireton, also with horse, to the Northward, after the King's main-body. “We,” Fairfax's main-body, now set forward “towards Harborough,” flanking the King; and that night,—Friday, 13th June,—arrive (not at “Gilling,” as Sprigge has it,—is there any such place?—but) at Guilsborough.[1] Which is the last of the *Stages.*

‘The King's van is now, this Friday night, at Harborough; his rear is quartered in Naseby,—where Ireton beats them up (probably about half-past nine), “taking prisoners,” &c.: and so the fugitives rouse the King out of his bed “at Lubenham;”[2]—who thereupon drives-off to Prince Rupert at Harborough; arrives about midnight; calls a Council (“resting himself in a chair in a low room,” till Rupert and the rest get on their clothes); and there, after debate,[3] determines on turning back to beat the Roundheads for this affront.—Ireton lies at Naseby, therefore; “we” (Fairfax and the army), at Guilsborough, all this night.

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[1] Rushworth, vi. 46 (Despatch from the Parliament Commissioners).

[2] See *Iter Carolinum,* too.

[3] See Clarendon, &c.

'*Battle of Naseby.* Saturday, 14th June 1645. Starting at three in 'the morning, we arrive about five at Naseby. King "reported to be 'at Harborough," uncertain whitherward next: behold, "great bodies 'of his troops are *seen* coming over the Hill from Harborough towards 'us;"—he has turned, and is for fighting us, then! We put our 'Army in order,—"large fallow field northwest of Naseby," "the 'brow of the Hill running east and west" "for something like a mile:" 'King has sunk out of sight in a hollow; but comes up again nearer 'us,[1] and now evidently drawn-out for battle. We fall back, "about 'a hundred paces, from the brow of the Hill," to hide ourselves and 'our plans: he rushes on the faster, thinking we run ("much of his 'ordnance left behind"): the Battle joins on the very brow of the 'Hill. Their word, *Queen Mary,*[2] ours, *God is our Strength.*

'About Three-hundred Musketeers of ours on the Left Wing, are 'advanced a little, as a forlorn, down the *steep* of the Hill; they retire firing 'as Rupert charges up: Ireton and Skippon command in this quarter; '"Lantford Hedges," a kind of thicket which runs right down the Hill, 'is lined with Colonel Okey and his dragoons,—all on *foot* at present, 'and firing lustily on Rupert as he gallops past.—Cromwell is on the 'extreme Right (easternmost part of the Hill): he, especially Whalley 'under him, dashes down *before* the Enemy's charge upwards (which 'is led by Langdale) can take effect; scatters said charge to the winds; 'not without hard cutting: a good deal impeded "by furze-bushes" 'and "a cony-warren." *These* Royalist Horse, Langdale's, fled all 'behind their own Foot, "a quarter of a mile from the Battle-ground," '—*i.e.* near to the present Farm of Dust Hill, or between that and 'Clipstow; and never fought again. So that Cromwell had only to 'keep *them* in check; and aid his own Main-battle to the left of 'him: which he diligently did.

'Our Right Wing, then, has beaten Langdale. But Rupert, on the 'other side of the field, beats back our Left:—over "Rutput Hill," '"Fenny Hill" (*Fanny* Hill, as the Old Books call it); towards Naseby 'Hamlet; on to our Baggage train (which stands on the *northwest side* of 'the Hamlet, *eastward* of said "Rutput" and "Fenny," but northward 'of "Leane Leafe Hill," very sober "Hills," I perceive!). Our extreme 'Left was "hindered by pits and ditches" in charging; at any rate, it 'lost the charge; fled: and Rupert now took to attacking the Baggage 'and its Guard,—in vain, and with very wasteful delay. For our 'Main-battle too was in a critical state; and might have been overset, 'at this moment. Our Main-battle,—our Horse on the Left of it giving 'way; and the King's Foot "coming up into sight," over the brow of 'the Hill, "with one terrible volley," and then with swords and 'musket-butts,—"mostly all fled." Mostly all: except the Officers, 'who "snatched the colours," "fell into the Reserves with them," &c. 'And then, said Reserves now rushing on, and the others rallying to 'them; and Cromwell being victorious and diligent on the Right, and

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[1] 'At Sibbertoft' (Rushworth).

[2] [*i.e.*, Queen Henrietta Maria—always called Queen Mary by the Court.]

'Rupert idle among the Baggage on the Left,—the whole business was 'erelong *retrieved;* and the King's Foot and other Force were all 'driven pell-mell down the Hill: towards Dust Hill (or *eastward* of 'the present Farm-house, I think). There the King still stood,—'joined at last by Rupert, and struggling to rally his Horse for 'another brush; but the Foot would not halt, the Foot were all off: 'and the Horse too, seeing Cromwell with all *our* Horse and victorious 'Foot now again ready for a second charge, would not stand it; but 'broke; and dissipated, towards Harborough, Leicester, and Infinite 'Space.

'The Fight began at ten o'clock;[1] lasted three hours:[2] there were 'some Five-thousand Prisoners; how many Slain I cannot tell.'

(*b.*) Colonel Pickering, a distinguished Officer, whose last notable exploit was at the storm of Basing House, has caught the epidemic, 'new disease' as they call it, some ancient *influenza* very prevalent and fatal during those wet winter-operations; and after a few days' illness, 'at Autree' (St. Mary *Ottery*) where the headquarter was, is dead. Sir Gilbert, his brother, is a leading man in Parliament, with much service yet before him;—Cousin Dryden, one day to be Poet Dryden, is in Northamptonshire, a lad of fourteen at present. Sprigge (p. 156) has a pious copy of 'sorrowful verse over dear Colonel Pickering's hearse;' and here is a Note concerning his funeral.

To Colonel Cicely[3] at Pendennis Castle: These

Tiverton, 10th December 1645.

Sir,

It's the desire of Sir Gilbert Pickering that his deceased Brother, Colonel Pickering, should be interred in your Garrison; and to the end his funeral may be solemnised with as much honour as his memory calls for, you are desired to give all possible assistance therein. The particulars will be offered to you by his Major, Major Jubbs,[4] with whom I desire you to concur herein, and believe it, Sir, you will not only lay a huge obligation upon myself and all the officers of this Army, but I dare assure you the General himself will take it for an especial favour, and will not let it go without a full acknowledgment. But what need I prompt him to so honourable an action whose own ingenuity will be argument sufficient herein; whereof rests assured

Your humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

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[1] Clarendon.

[2] Cromwell's Letter.

[3] [*i.e.*, Colonel Ceely.]

[4] 'Gubbs,' he writes.

* Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections* (London, 1826), i. 22: with a Note on Cicely, and reference to 'the Original among the Family Papers of the Rev. G. Moore, of Grampound.' [Now at the Bodleian, *Select Clarendon Papers*, vol. ix. 1.]

(*c*.) A couple of very small Letters, which have now (May, March, 1846) accidentally turned up, too late for insertion in the Text, may find their corner here.

1. The First, which is fully dated (just eight days before the Battle of Naseby), but has lost its specific Address, may without much doubt be referred to Ely and the 'Fortifications' going on there.[1]

'To Captain Underwood, at Ely: These'

Huntington, June 6 1645.

CAPTAIN UNDERWOOD,

I desire the guards may be very well strengthened and looked unto. Let a new breastwork be made about the gravel,[2] and a new work half-musket-shot behind the old work at stony ground[2] staff. Desire Colonel Fothergill to take care of keeping strong guards. Not having more, I rest,

Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. 'Sir Dudley North,' Baronet, of Catlidge Hall near Newmarket, is Member for Cambridgeshire; sits too, there is small doubt, in the Ely Committee at London[3];—is wanted now for a small County business.

The '30th of March,' as we know, is but the fifth day of the then New Year: Oliver,—I find after some staggering, for his date will not suit with other things,—takes the cipher of the Old Year, as one is apt to do, and for 1647 still writes '1646.' As this Entry, abridged from the Commons Journals,[4] will irrefragably prove, to readers of his Letter: 'John Hobart Esq. dismissed from being Sheriff of Cambridge 'and Huntingdon Shires, and *Tristram Dymond Esq. appointed in* '*his place*, 1st January 1646,' which, for us, and for Cromwell too on the 30th of March following, means 1647.

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[1] *Commons Journals*, iv. 161, 5; *Cromwelliana*, p. 16.

[2] Word uncertain to the Copyist.

[3] [*dele* "at London."]

[4] v. 36 (1st Jan. 1646-7).

* Original now (May 1846) in the Baptist College, Bristol. [The Principal of the College has very kindly furnished the true reading of this letter, and sent up a tracing which shows his reading to be right. There is no doubt at all about "gravel" or "ground"; the only doubtful word is that rendered "stony." It appears to be "stonie," but might be "stoun." Carlyle printed "All storm ground stuff," but this is certainly wrong. A little to the south-west of Ely lies a sloping field formerly a gravel-pit, and at its upper end is an artificial mound known as Bug Hill or Smock Hill, which may well have borne a flag-staff, and which entirely commands the point where the roads from Cambridge and St. Ives converge, and turn to enter Ely. It is dangerous to dogmatize concerning gravel-pits, but behind the mound there certainly appear to be two encircling "works," one outside the other.]

For the Honourable Sir Dudley North: These

'London,' 30th March 1646 [*error for* 1647].

SIR,

It being desired to have the Commission of the Peace renewed in the Isle of Ely,—with some addition, as you may perceive; none left out; only Mr. Diamond, now High Sheriff of the County, and my Brother Desborow, added, there being great want of one in that part of the Isle where I live,—I desire you to join with me in a Certificate; and rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.[*]

No. 9

LANGPORT BATTLE (10th July 1645). SUMMONS TO WINCHESTER

[Vol. i. p. 219.]

HERE is Oliver's own account of the Battle of Langport, mentioned in our Text:

'To——— ———.'

'Langport,—July 1645.'

DEAR SIR,

I have now a double advantage upon you, through the goodness of God, who still appears with us. And as for us, we have seen great things in this last mercy: it is not inferior to any we have had; as followeth.

We were advanced to Long-Sutton, near a very strong place of the Enemy's, called Lamport; far from our own Garrisons, without much ammunition, in a place extremely wanting in provisions, the malignant Club-men interposing, who are ready to take all advantages against our parties, and would undoubtedly take them against our Army, if they had opportunity. Goring stood upon the advantage of strong passes, staying until the rest of his recruits came up to his Army, with a resolution not to engage until Greenvill and Prince Charles his men were come up to him.[1] We could not well have necessitated him to an Engagement, nor have stayed one day longer without retreating to our ammunition and to conveniency of victual.

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[*] Original in the possession of the Rev. W. S. Spring Casborne, of Pakenham, Suffolk; a descendant of the North Family.

In the morning, word was brought us, that the Enemy drew out. He did so, with a resolution to send most of his cannon and baggage to Bridgewater, which he effected: but with a resolution not to fight, but, trusting to his ground, thinking he could march [2] away at pleasure.

The pass was strait between him and us; he brought two cannons to secure his, and laid his musketeers strongly in the hedges. We beat-off his cannon, fell down upon his musketeers, beat them off from their strength, and, where our Horse could scarcely pass two abreast, I commanded Major Bethel to charge them with two Troops of about 120 Horse, which he performed with the greatest gallantry imaginable; beat back two bodies of the Enemy's Horse, being Goring's own Brigade; brake them at sword's-point. The Enemy charged him with near 400 fresh Horse. He set them all going, until, oppressed with multitudes, he brake through them, with the loss not of above three or four men. Major Desborow seconded him, with some other of those Troops, which were about three. Bethel faced about, and they both routed, at sword's-point, a great body of the Enemy's Horse, which gave such an unexpected terror to the Enemy's Army, that 'it' set them all a-running. Our Foot in the mean time coming on bravely, and beating the Enemy from their strength, we presently had the chase to Lamport and Bridgewater. We took and killed about 2000, brake all his Foot. We have taken very many Horses, and considerable Prisoners. What were slain we know not. We have the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance; Colonel Preston, Colonel Heveningham, Colonel Slingsby, we know of, besides very many other Officers of quality. All Major-General Massie's party was with him, seven or eight miles from us, and about twelve-hundred of our Foot, and three Regiments of our Horse. So that we had but Seven Regiments with us.

Thus you see what the Lord hath wrought for us. Can any creature ascribe anything to itself? Now can we give all the glory to God, and desire all may do so, for it is all due unto Him!—Thus you have Long-

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[1] [Sir Thomas Fairfax, reporting to his father the victory at Langport, wrote, "the King had given Goring strict commands not to engage before himself, with the Welsh forces, were joined with him, and Greenvill with those out of the West, which altogether would have made a very great army, besides many thousands of club-men."]

[2] [Carlyle printed "make."]

Sutton mercy added to Naseby mercy. And to see this, is it not to see the face of God! You have heard of Naseby: it was a happy victory. As in this, so in that, God was pleased to use His servants; and if men will be malicious, and swell with envy, we know Who hath said, If they will not see, yet they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at His people. I can say this of Naseby, That when I saw the Enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor ignorant men, to seek how to order our battle: the General having commanded me to order all the Horse, I could not (riding alone about my business), but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, bring to naught things that are. Of which I had great assurance; and God did it. O that men would therefore praise the Lord, and declare the wonders that He doth for the children of men!

I cannot write more particulars now. I am going to the rendezvous of all our Horse, three miles from Bridgewater; we march that way. It is a seasonable mercy. I cannot better tell you than write, That God will go on. We have taken two guns, three carriages of ammunition. In the chase, the Enemy quitted Lamport; when they ran out at one end of the Town, we entered the other. They fired that at which we should chase; which hindered our pursuit: but we overtook many of them. I believe we got near Fifteen-hundred Horse.

Sir, I beg your prayers. Believe, and you shall be established. I rest,

Your servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

A couple of months after this battle, Oliver is before Winchester, and makes this Summons:

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* Pamphlet in Lincoln College, Oxford, No. 10: "Battles and Sieges." Letter entitled "The Copy of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter to a worthy Member of the House of Commons, published by Authority, London, 1645."

[The title page runs "Good newes out of the West, declared in a letter sent from Lieutenant-Generall CROMWELL To a worthy member of the House of Commons. Showing what great things God hath done by small means. Two thousand slain and taken prisoners. Also fifteen hundred Horse taken beside Bag and Baggage. Published by Authority. London, printed by Matthew Simmons, 1645. (E. 293 (18).) Thomason has added "July 23." Sanford printed this letter (from the Lincoln College pamphlet), in his *Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*. This Appendix 9 was inserted in the edition of 1857.]

To the Mayor of the City of Winchester

'Before Winchester,' 28th September 1645,
5 o'clock at night.

Sir,

I come not to this City but with a full resolution to save it, and the inhabitants thereof, from ruin.

I have commanded the soldiers, upon pain of death, that no wrong be done: which I shall strictly observe; only I expect you give me entrance into the City, without necessitating me to force my way; which if I do, then it will not be in my power to save you or it. I expect your answer within half an hour; and rest,

Your humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell.*

No. 10.

Army Troubles in 1647

[Vol. i. p. 262]

The Vote 'that Field-Marshal Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton and Colonel Fleetwood,' all Members of this House, 'shall proceed to their charges in the Army,' and endeavour to quiet all distempers there,—was passed on the 30th of April: day of the Three Troopers and Army-Letter, and directly on the back of that occurrence.[1] They went accordingly, perhaps on the morrow, and proceeded to business; but as nothing specific came of them, or could come, till the 8th of May, that day is taken as the date of the Deputation.—Here are three letters from them; one prior and one posterior; which, copied from the Tanner MSS., have got into print, but cannot throw much light on the affair.

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* *History and Antiquities of Winchester* (London, 1773), ii. 127. [To this the Mayor—William Longland—replied, that the delivery of the city was not in his power, it being under the command of the Lord Ogle, but that he would use his best endeavours with his Lordship. Ogle however refused to be entreated, and declared his resolution of holding out to the last. (*Ibid.* p. 128.) It was not until a week later that he surrendered the Castle, after a breach had been made by Cromwell's cannon, and it was on the point of being stormed. See vol. i. p. 220.]

[1] *Commons Journals*, v. 158: see *antea*, vol. i. p. 260.

1. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These*'

"'Saffron Walden,' 3d May 1647.

"SIR,—We have sent out orders to summon the officers of the "several Regiments to appear before us on Thursday next; to the end "we may understand from them the true condition and temper of the "soldiers in relation to the discontents lately represented; and the "better to prepare and enable them,—by speaking with them, and "acquainting them with your votes,[1]—to allay any discontents that "may be among the soldiers.

"We judged this way most likely to be effectual to your service; "though it ask some time, by reason of the distance of the quarters. "When we shall have anything worthy of your knowledge, we shall "represent it; and in the mean time study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON."[2]

2. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These*'

"Saffron Walden, 8th May 1647.

"SIR,—According to our orders sent out to the officers of the Army, "many of them appeared at the time appointed. The greatest failing "was of Horse officers; who, by reason of the great distance of their "quarters from this place (being some of them above three-score miles "off), could not be here: yet there were, accidentally, some of every "Regiment except Colonel Whalley's present at our meeting;—which "was upon Friday morning,[3] about ten of the clock.

"After some discourse offered unto them, about the occasion of the "meeting, together with the deep sense the Parliament had of some "discontents which were in the Army, and of our great trouble also "that it should be so, we told them, we were sent down to communi"cate the House of Commons' votes unto them; whereby their, 'the "Parliament's,' care of giving the Army satisfaction might appear: "desiring them 'furthermore' To use their utmost diligence with all "good conscience and effect, by improving their interests in the soldiers, "*for* their satisfaction; and that they would communicate to their "soldiers the votes, together with such informations as they received

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[1] Votes passed that same 30th of April: That the Soldiers shall have Indemnity; that they shall have Pay,—and in short, Justice (*Commons Journals*, v. 158). 'Thursday next' is the 6th of May.

[2] 'A Letter from Major-General' (elsewhere called Field-Marshal) 'Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton, was this day read' (*Commons Journals*, 4th May 1647).

[3] Friday, yesterday; not 'Thursday,' as at first proposed.

"then from us, to the end their distemper might be allayed. After "this had been said, and a copy of the votes delivered to the chief "officer of every respective Regiment, to be communicated as aforesaid, "we desired them to give us a speedy account of the success of their "endeavours; and if in anything they needed our advice or assistance "for furthering the work, we should be ready here at Saffron Walden "to give it them, upon notice from them.

"We cannot give you a full and punctual account of the particular "distempers, with the grounds of them: because the officers were "desirous to be spared therein by us, until they might make a further "inquiry amongst the soldiers, and see what effect your votes and their "endeavours might have with them. We desire as speedy an account "of this business as might well be; but, upon the desire of the officers, "thought it necessary for the service to give them until Saturday next[1] "to bring us an account of their business, by reason the Regiments "were so far distant.

"As anything falls out worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent "it; and in the mean time study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"Ph. Skippon.
"Oliver Cromwell.
"H. Ireton.
"Charles Fleetwood."[2]

"'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These*'

"Walden, 17th May 1647.

"Sir,—We having made some progress in the business you com- "manded us upon, we are bold to give you this account, which, although "it come not with that expedition you may expect and your other "affairs require, yet we hope you will be pleased to excuse us with the "weight of the affair: in comparison whereof nothing that ever yet "we undertook was, at least to our apprehension, equal; and wherein, "whatever the issue prove, our greatest comfort is, that our consciences "bear us witness we have, according to our abilities, endeavoured faith- "fully to serve you and the Kingdom.

"The officers repaired to us at Saffron Walden upon Saturday last, "according to appointment, to give us a return of[3] what they had in "charge from us at our last meeting; which was, to read your votes to "the soldiers under their respective commands for their satisfaction, "and to improve their interest faithfully and honestly with them to

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[1] This day week; the 15th.

[2] 'Letter from the General Officers,' 'from *Walden*, of 8th *Maii* 1647, was this day read' (*Commons Journals*, Tuesday, 11th May 1647). The Letter seems to be of Cromwell's writing.

[3] Means 'response to.'

"that end; and 'then' to give us a perfect account of the effect of their "endeavours, and a true representation of the temper of the Army.

"At this meeting, we received what they had to offer to us, which "they delivered to us in writing, by the hands of some chosen by the "rest of the officers then present, and in the name of the rest of the "officers and of the soldiers under their commands, which was not done "till Sunday in the evening. At which time, and likewise before upon "Saturday, we acquainted them all with a letter from the Earl of "Manchester, expressing that an Act of Indemnity, large and full, had "passed the House of Commons;[1] and that two weeks' pay more was "voted to those that were disbanded, as also to them that undertook "the service of Ireland. And, thinking fit to dismiss the officers to "their several commands,—all but some that were to stay here about "further business,—we gave them in charge to communicate these last "votes to their soldiers, and to improve their utmost diligence and "interest for their best satisfaction.

"We must acknowledge, we found the Army under a deep sense of "some sufferings, and the common soldiers much unsettled; whereof, "that which we have to represent to you will give you a more perfect "view. Which, because it consists of many papers, and needs some "more method in the representation of them to you than can be done "by letter, and forasmuch as we were sent down by you to our several "charges *to do our best to keep the Soldiers in order*,—we are not well "satisfied, any of us, to leave the place nor duty you sent us to, until "we have the signification of your pleasure to us. To which we shall "most readily conform; and rest,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON.
"CHARLES FLEETWOOD."[2]

No. 11

WELSH DISTURBANCES IN 1648

[Vol. i. p. 317.]

1. SOME charge of Welsh misbehaviour, perhaps treachery, in the late May revolt; charge which, if founded, ought to be made good against 'Edwards!' Colonel Hughes has been Governor of Chepstow, from the time when it was first taken in autumn 1645;[3] and, we may infer,

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[1] *Commons Journals*, v. 174 (14th May 1647).

[2] *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, i. 205-16).

[3] *Commons Journals*, iv. 321 and v. 115.

has returned to his post since Ewers (25th May 1648) retook the Castle.[1] Of Edwards, and his misdeeds, and his accusers, no other clear trace has occurred to me. But in Moyne's Court, Monmouthshire, the seat of this Colonel Thomas Hughes, the following old Note has turned up, and was printed in 1791.

'To Colonel Hughes, Chepstow Castle'

'Before Pembroke,' 26th June 1648.

COLONEL HUGHES,

It's of absolute necessity that Collington and Ashe do attend the Council of War, to make good what they say of Edwards. Let it be your special care to get them into Monmouthshire thereunto. What Mr. Herbert and Mrs. Cradock hath (*sic*) promised to them in point of indemnity, I will endeavour to have it performed; and I desire you to certify as much to them for their encouragement. I pray do this speedily after receipt hereof, and I shall remain

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. A short Letter to the Committee of Carmarthen. The ancient 'Iron-furnaces' at Carmarthen, the 'Committee' sitting there, the 'Paper' or Proclamation from the Leaguer: these, and the other points of this Letter, will be intelligible to the reader.

To my noble Friends the Committee of Carmarthen: These

The Leaguer before Pembroke, 9th June 1648.

GENTLEMEN,

I have sent this bearer to you to desire we may have your furtherance and assistance in procuring some necessaries to be cast in the iron-furnaces in your county of Carmarthen, which will the better enable us to reduce the Town and Castle of Pembroke.

The principal things are: shells for our [mo]rtarpiece[2]; the depth of them we desire may be fourteen inches and three-quarters of an inch. That which I desire at your hands is, to cause the service to be performed, and that with all possible expedition; that so (if it be the will of God), the service being done, these poor wasted countries may be freed from the burden of the Army.

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[1] [Capt. John Nicholas is called Governor of Chepstow Castle in March 1648-9, and calls himself so in January 1650-51. *See Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 2311, and *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1649-50, p. 54. Also *antea*, i. 316. There is nothing in the Composition papers which throws any light on the affair alluded to above.]

[2] [Paper torn.]

* *The Topographer*, edited by Sir E. Brydges (London, March 1791), iv. 125-9.

In the next place, we desire some demi cannon-shot, and some culverin-shot, may with all possible speed be cast for us, and hasted to us also.

We give you thanks for your care in helping us with bread and water &c. You do herein a very special service to the State; and I do most earnestly desire you to continue herein, according to our desires in the late letters. I desire that copies of this paper[1] may be published throughout your country, and the effects thereof observed for the ease of the county, and to avoid the wronging of the country men.

Not doubting of your care to give assistance to the public in the services we have in hand, I rest,

Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL.*

3. Letter found some years ago, among the lumber of "St. Jillian's" (Julian's) "Old Castle of the Lords Herbert in Monmouthshire." Address gone, and not conjecturable with any certainty. Letter evidently genuine—and still hanging curiously as postscript to Letter LX. (vol. i. p. 315) of date the day before.

"*For the Honourable Richard Herbert, at St. Jillian's; These*"

Leaguer before Pembroke, 18th June 1648.

SIR,

I would have you to be informed that I have good report of your secret practices against the public advantage; by means whereof that arch-traitor, Sir Nicholas Kemys, with his horse, did surprise the Castle of Chepstow: but we have notable discovery from the papers taken by Col. Hewer on recovering the Castle, that Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby was the malignant who set on foot the plot.

Now I give you this plain warning by Capt. Nicholas and Capt. Burgess, that if you harbour or conceal either of the parties, or abet their mis-doings, I will cause your treasonable nest to be burnt about your ears.

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[1] Some *Proclamation* seemingly,—of the conceivable sort.

* Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (London, 1834), p. 355. 'Original in the hands of Richard Williams, Esq., Stapleton Hall, Hornsey.' [Now in the Morrison Collection.]

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

4. In the Town Archives of Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, are the following three Papers; footmarks, still visible, of Oliver's transit through those parts. Twelfth July, date of the first Paper, is the morrow after Pembroke surrendered.

(*a.*) "*To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest*

"We being authorised by Parliament to view and consider what "Garrisons and places of strength are fit to be demolished; and we "finding that the Castle of Haverford is not tenable for the services of "the State, and yet that it may be possessed by ill-affected persons, to "the prejudice of the peace of these parts: These are to authorise and "require you to summon-in the Hundred of Roose and the inhabitants "of the Town and County of Haverfordwest; and that they forthwith "demolish the several walls and towers of the said Castle; so as that "the said Castle may not be possessed by the Enemy, to the endangering of the peace of these parts.

"Given under our hands, this 12th of July 1648.

"ROGER LORT. JOHN LORT.
"SAM[SON] LORT. THO[MA]S BARLOWE.

"We expect an account of your proceedings, with effect, in this business, by Saturday being the 15th of July instant."

To which Oliver appends:

If a speedy course be not taken to fulfil the commands of this Warrant, I shall be necessitated to consider of settling a Garrison.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

(*b.*) "*For the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cromwell at Pembroke*

"Haverfordwest, 13th July 1648.

"HONOURED SIR,—We received an Order from your Honour and the "Committee, for the demolishing of the Castle of Haverfordwest, according to which we have this day set some workmen about it: but "we find the work so difficult to be brought about without powder to

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* *Monmouthshire Merlin*, (Welsh Newspaper) for Sept. 1845. Inserted there, it would appear, along with other antiquarian fractions, in very ignorant condition, by one Mr. Wm. Townshend, an attorney in Newport, who is now (1858) dead some years since. St. Jillian's, now a farmhouse near Cærleon, Monmouthshire, was the mansion of the Lords Herbert, of the celebrated Lord Edward of Cherbury for one,—to whom (or to his successor as the Attorney thinks) this note was addressed. Note picked up in converting the old Manor-House into a farm-house (which it still is) and published, along with other antiquarian tag-raggeries, in a very dim and helpless manner, by the attorney, who had been in charge of that operation.

"blow it by, that it will exhaust an 'huge' sum of money, and will
"not in a long time be effected.

"Wherefore we become suitors of your Honour that there may a
"competent quantity of powder be spared out of the ships, for the speedy
"effecting the work, and the County paying for the same. And we like-
"wise desire that your Honour and the Committee be pleased that the
"whole County may join with us in the work; and that an Order be
"considered for the levying of a competent sum of money on the several
"Hundreds of the County, for the paying for the powder, and defraying
"the rest of the charge.

"Thus being over-bold to be troublesome to your Honour; desiring
"to know your Honour's resolves,—we rest,

"Your Honour's humble servants,
"JOHN PRYNNE, *Mayor.*
"JENKIN HOWELL. WILLIAM WILLIAMS.
"WILLIAM BOWEN. JOB DAVIES.
"ROGER BEVANS, ETHELDRED DAVIES."

Gunpowder cannot be spared on light occasion; and 'levying of competent sums' have had their difficulties before now: here is the handier method:

(c.) *To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest*

Whereas upon view and consideration with Mr. Roger Lort, Mr. Samson Lort, and the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest, it is thought fit, for the preserving of the peace of this County, that the Castle of Haverfordwest should be speedily demolished:

These are to authorise you to call unto your assistance, in the performance of this exercise (?), the Inhabitants of the Hundreds of Dungleddy, Dewisland, Kemis, Roose and Kilgerran; who are hereby required to give you assistance.

Given under our hands this 14th of July 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

['and the two Lorts in a corner of the paper'].*

No. 12

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE AFTER PRESTON BATTLE

[Vol. i. p. 347.]

SAME day with that Letter in the Text urging the York Committee to help in pursuit of Duke Hamilton, Oliver writes home for fresh Supplies.

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* Printed in *Welshman* Newspaper (Carmarthen, 29th Dec. 1848).

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House: These. Haste, haste

Wigan, 23d August 1648.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I did not (being straitened with time) send you an account of the great blessing of God upon your Army: I trust it is satisfactory to your Lordships that the House had it so fully presented to them.[1]

My Lords, it cannot be imagined that so great a business as this could be without some loss; although I confess very little compared with the weightiness of the Engagement; there being on our part not one Hundred slain, yet many wounded. And to our little it is a real weakening, for indeed we are but a handful, and I submit to your Lordships, whether you will think fit or no to recruit our loss; we having but five poor Regiments of foot, and our horse so exceedingly battered as I never saw them in all my life. It is not to be doubted but your Enemy's designs are deep: this blow will make them very angry: the principles they went on were[2] such as should a little awaken Englishmen; for I have it from very good hands of their own party, that the Duke made this the argument to his Army, That the lands of the country and—[*illegible the next line or two, from ruin of the paper; the words lost mean clearly, "That the Scots were to share our lands among them, and come to inhabit the conquered country:" a very high figure of rumour indeed!*]—which accordingly is done in part, there being a transplantation of many women and children and of whole families in Westmoreland and Cumberland, as I am credibly informed [*for the moment!*] Much more might be said, but I forbear. I offer it to your Lordships that money may be 'sent' to pay the foot and horse to some equality. Some of those that are here since fourteen[3] days before I marched from Windsor into Wales have not had any pay; and amongst the horse, my own Regiment and some others are much behind. [As long as this cost of war must continue][4] I wish your Lordships may manage it for the best advantage, and not be wanting to yourselves in what is necessary: which is the end of my offering these things to you. My Lords, money is not for contingencies so as were to be wished; we have very many things to do which might be better done if we had wherewithal. Our Foot want clothes, shoes and stockings; these ways and weather have shattered them all to pieces: that which was the great blow to our Horse was (besides the weather and incessant marches) our march ten miles to fight with the Enemy, and a fight continuing four hours in as dirty a place as ever I saw horses stand in; and, upon the matter, the continuance of this fight two days more together in our following of the Enemy, and lying close by him in the mire—[*moths again and mildew* . . . . . . until at length we broke him at a near . . . . . . a great party of our horse having . . . . . miles towards Lancaster; who came up . . . . . . to us, and were with us in all the action]. These things I thought fit to intimate, not knowing what is fit to ask, because I know not how your affairs stand, nor what you can supply.

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[1] [In Letter LXIV.]

[2] [In Cromwell's hand, over "where" erased.]

[3] [Carlyle printed "seventy."]

[4] [The words in brackets were omitted by Carlyle.]

I have sent Major-General Lambert, upon the day I received this Enclosed, with above two-thousand horse and dragoons and about fourteen-hundred[1] foot in prosecution of the Duke and the nobility of Scotland with him; who will, I doubt not, have the blessing of God with him in the business. But indeed his horse are exceedingly weak and weary. I have sent to Yorkshire and to my Lord Gray to alarm all parts to a prosecution, and if they be not wanting to the work, I see not how many can escape. I am marched myself back towards Preston; and so on towards Monro or otherwise, as God shall direct.

As things fall out, I shall represent them to you; and remain,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most humble 'servant,'

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 13

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE IN 1648

[Vol. i. p. 369.]

RECAPITULATING what is already known in the Text; finds its place here.

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[1] [Carlyle printed "thousand."]

* *Tanner MSS.* lvii. (1) 229. Original signed inside and out by Cromwell: much injured by mildew and moths. [Sealed with the Cromwell arms. Inserted first in the 1857 edition.]

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House

Norham, 20th Sept. 1648.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I did, from Alnwick, write to Sir William Armyn[1] an account of our condition; and recommended to him divers particular considerations about your affairs here in the North, with desire of particular things to be done by your Lordships' appointments in order to the carrying-on of your affairs. I send you here enclosed a copy of the summons that was sent to Barwick[2] when I was come as far as Alnwick; as also of a letter written to the Committee of Estates of Scotland:[3] I mean those who we did presume were convened as Estates, and were the men that managed the business of the war. But there being, as I hear since, none such; the Earl of Roxburgh and some others having deserted, so that they are not able to make a Committee; I believe the said letter is suppressed,[4] and retained in the hands of Colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe, for whom we obtained a safe convoy to go to the Estates of that Kingdom with our said letter; the Governor of Barwick's answer to our summons leading us thereunto. By advantage whereof, we did instruct them to give all assurance to the Marquis of Argyle and the honest party in Scotland (who we heard were gathered together in a considerable Body about Edinburgh, to make opposition to the Earl of Lanerick, Monroe, and their Armies), of our good affection to them. Wherewith they went the 16th of this month.

Upon the 17th of this month Sir Andrew Car and Major Straughan, with divers other Scottish Gentlemen, brought me this enclosed letter, signed by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as your Lordships will see. They likewise showed me their Instructions, and a paper containing the matter of their Treaty with Lanerick and Monroe; as also an Expostulation upon Lanerick's breach with them, in falling upon Argyle and his men, contrary to agreement, wherein the Marquis of Argyle hardly escaped, they having hold of him, but seven-hundred of his men were killed and taken.[5] These papers also I send here enclosed to your Lordships.

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[1] Original Member for Grantham; one of the Committee, and from of old busy in those International concerns. [One of the Commissioners for the North.]

[2] Letter LXX.

[3] Letter LXXII.

[4] Not 'suppressed,' though it cannot be received except unofficially (vol. i. p. 362).

[5] Bishop Guthry's *Memoirs*.

So soon as those Gentlemen came to me, I called a Council of War; the result whereof was the letter directed to the Lord Chancellor;[1] a copy whereof your Lordships have also here enclosed, which I delivered to Sir Andrew Car and Major Straughan; with which they returned upon the 18th, being the next day.

Upon private discourse with the Gentlemen, I do find the condition of their affairs and their Army to be thus: The Earl of Lanerick, the Earl of Crawford-Lindsay, Monroe, and their Army, hearing of our advance, and understanding the condition and endeavours of their adversaries, marched with all speed to get the possession of Sterling-Bridge; that so they might have three parts of four of Scotland at their backs, to raise men, and to enable themselves to carry on their designs, and are about 5,000 Foot and 2,500 Horse. The Earl of Leven, who is chosen General; the Marquis of Argyle, with the honest lords and gentlemen, David Lesley being the Lieutenant-General: having about 7,000 Foot, but very weak in Horse, lie about six miles on this side the Enemy. I do hear that their Infantry consists of men who come to them out of conscience, and generally are of the godly people of that nation, which they express by their piety and devotion in their quarters; and indeed I hear they are a very godly and honest body of men.

I think it is not unknown to your Lordships what directions I have received from you for the prosecution of our late victory, whereof I shall be bold to remember a clause of your letter; which was, "That I should "prosecute the remaining party in the North, and not leave any of "them (wherever they shall go) to be a beginning of a new Army; "nor cease to pursue the victory till I finish and fully complete it, with "their rendition of those Towns of Barwick and Carlisle, which most "unjustly, and against all obligations, and the treaties (then) in force, "they surprised and garrisoned against us."

In order whereunto, I marched to the Borders of Scotland, where I found the country so exceedingly harassed and impoverished by Monroe and the Forces with him, that the country was in no sort able to bear us on the English side, but we must have necessarily ruined both your Army and the subjects of this Kingdom, who had not[2] bread for a day, if we had continued among them. In prosecution of your orders, and in answer to the necessity of your friends in Scotland, and their desires, and considering the necessity of marching into Scotland, to prevent the

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[1] Letter LXXIII.

[2] ["have not" in the Pamphlet.]

Governor of Barwick from putting provisions into his Garrison on Scotland side (whereof he is at present in some want, as we are informed), I marched a good part of the Army over Tweed yesterday about noon, the residue being to come after as conveniently as we may.

Thus have I given to your Lordships an account of our present condition and engagement, and having done so, I must discharge my duty in remembering to your Lordships the desires formerly expressed in my letters to Sir William Armyn and Sir John Evelyn, for supplies; and in particular for that of shipping to lie upon these coasts, who may furnish us with ammunition or other necessaries wheresoever God shall lead us; there being extreme difficulty to supply us by land, without great and strong convoys, which will weary-out and destroy our Horses and cannot well come to us if the Tweed be up, without going very far about.

Having laid these things before you, I rest, my Lords,

Your most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.

P.S. Whilst we are here, I wish there be no neglect of the business in Cumberland and Westmorland. I have sent orders both into Lancashire and the Horse before Pontefract. I should be glad your Lordships would second them, and those other considerations expressed in my desires to Sir William Armyn thereabouts.*

No. 14

Letter on Behalf of Young Cholmley

[Vol. i. p. 381.]

Written on the march from Carlisle to Pontefract.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker to the House of Commons: These

Burroughbriggs, 28th October 1648.

Sir,

I do not often trouble you in particular businesses; but I shall be bold now, upon the desire of a worthy Gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmley, to entreat your favour on his behalf.

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* Old Pamphlet: in *Parliamentary History*, xvii. 481. ["The transactions of several matters" (E. 465, 18.) The letter was published by order of the House of Commons of September 28.]

The case stands thus. His son Major Cholmley, who was killed in the Fight against the Scots at Winnick,[1] was Custom-master at Carlile; the Gentleman merited well from you. Since his death, his aged Father, having lost this his eldest Son in your service, did resolve to use his endeavour to procure the place for a younger Son, who had likewise been in your service; and resolving to obtain my letter to some friends about it, did acquaint an undertenant of the place to his Son with this his purpose to come to me to the borders of Scotland to obtain the said letter;—which the said tenant[2] did say, was very well.

And when the said Lieutenant-Colonel was come for my letter, this tenant immediately hastens away to London; where he, in a very circumventing and deceitful way, prefers a petition to the House of Commons; gets a reference to the Committee of the Navy; who approve of the said man, by the mediation of some gentlemen:—but I hear there is a stop of it in the House.

My humble suit to you is, that if Colonel Morgan do wait upon you about this business (I having given you this true information of the state of it, as I have received it), you would be pleased to further his desire concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmley's younger Son, that he may have the place conferred upon him; and that you would acquaint some of my friends herewith.

By which you will very much oblige,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 15

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MAYOR OF WATERFORD.

[Vol. i. p. 510.]

PRESERVED in the anonymous Fragment of a Narrative, more than once referred to, are these Letters and Replies:

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[1] Against Monro, I suppose, when he ended his maraudings in that quarter (vol. i. p. 354). [Carlyle, following Cary, printed "was bold in the fight against the Scots at Berwick." Winwick was one of the contests on the way from Chester to Warrington.]

[2] [Cary printed "servant," and Carlyle, naturally puzzled, added "or undertenant."]

* *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, ii. 46.) [vol. lvii. 393.]

Letter I. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford*

|Kilbarry, near Waterford, 21st November, 1649.

Gentlemen,

I have received information that you hitherto refused a Garrison of the Enemy to be imposed 'upon' you; as also that some factions in the Town are very active still, notwithstanding your refusal, to persuade you to the contrary.

Being come into these parts, not to destroy people and places, but to save them, that men may live comfortably and happily by their trade, (if the fault be not in themselves); and purposing also, by God's assistance, to reduce this City of Waterford to its due obedience, as He shall dispose the matter, by force, or by agreement with you upon terms wherein your own good and happiness, and 'that' of your wives, children and families may consist, notwithstanding some busy-headed persons may pretend to the contrary; knowing that if after all this you shall receive a Garrison, it will probably put you out of[1] a capacity to make any such accord for yourselves, which was the cause of the ruin of the Town and people of Wexford; I thought fit to lay these things before you; leaving you to use your own judgment therein.

And if any shall have so much power upon you as to persuade you that these are the counsels of an enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove, in the end, that they gave you better. You did once live flourishingly under the power [of] and in commerce with England. It shall be your own faults if you do not so again. I send these intimations timeously to you: weigh them well; it so behoves you. I rest,

Your loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.

Reply 1. *For General Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces in Ireland*

"Waterford, 23d November[2] 1649.

"My Lord,—Your Letter of the 21st, directed to me and my Alder-"men, we have, by your trumpet, received. Your Lordship's advice, "as we do all others, we weigh with the condition of our safety: and "so far shall make use thereof as it contributes to the same.

"For your intentions of reducing this City, by force or agreement:—"as we will by all possible means endeavour our natural defence against

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[1] ["put you in," MS. copy.]

[2] [24th in MS. copy, but this is a mistake.]

"the first, so haply[1] will we not be averse to the latter, if we shall find "it not dishonourable nor destructive, and for that purpose do desire "your Lordship will grant us a cessation, for fifteen days, from all acts "of hostility; and send us safe-conducts, with blanks for the men we "shall employ, to treat with your Lordship; and in the interim bring "your Army no nearer this City than now it is.

"We have learned not to slight advice, if we find it wholesome, even "from an enemy's hands; nor to deny him such thanks as it merits. "And if your Lordship should deny us the time we look for, we doubt "not,—with the men we have already in Town (though we should "receive no more), to make good this place, till the power of the King- "dom relieves us.

"To signify which to your Lordship, the Council and Commons "have laid their commands on me,

"My Lord,
"Your very loving friend,
"John Lyvett, Mayor of Waterford."

Letter 2. *For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors of the City of Waterford*

From my Camp before Waterford,
24th November 1649.

Gentlemen,

I expected to have heard from you before this, by my trumpet; but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send, that I might have an account given me, how you have disposed of him. And to save farther trouble, I have thought fit hereby to summon you to surrender the City and Fort into my hands, to the use of the State of England.

I expect to receive your answer to these things, and rest,

Your servant,
Oliver Cromwell.

Reply 2. "*For the Lieutenant-General Cromwell*

"Waterford, 24th November 1649.

"My Lord,—Your Letter of the 24th I have received even now; in "which you desire an account of your Lordship's trumpeter, sent with "a former letter to us; and summons us to deliver your Lordship this "City and Fort.

"Your Lordship's former Letter by your trumpeter we have answered "yesterday morning; and do doubt, by the trumpeter's not coming to "you, he might have suffered some mischance by going the County-of- "Kilkenny way. We therefore now send you a copy of that Answer;[2] "to which we desire your Lordship's resolution, before we receive "which, we cannot make further answer to the rest of your letter.

[1] [Carlyle printed "happily."]

[2] Reply 1; already given.

"We therefore desire you will despatch the safe-conduct desired, "and forbear acts of hostility during the Treaty;—and you shall be "very soon attended by Commissioners from,

"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's servant,
"John Lyvett, Mayor of Waterford."

Letter 3. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford*

'Before Waterford,' 24th November 1649.

Sirs,

My first trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect (as you say) that he has suffered some mischance going by the way of the County of Kilkenny.

If I had received your letter sooner, I should nevertheless (by the help of God) have marched up to this place, as I have done. And as for your desire of a Treaty, I am more willing for that way, for the prevention of blood and ruin, than to 'the' other of force;—although if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling power of God, who will dispose of you and us as He pleaseth.

As to a cessation for fifteen days, I shall not agree thereunto; because a far shorter time may bring this business to a conclusion as well. But for four or five days I am content that there be a cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt your City and this Army:—provided you give me assurance That, in the mean time, no soldiers not now in your City be received into it, during the cessation, nor for twenty-four hours after.

I expect to have your present answer hereto: because, if this be agreed-to, I shall forbear any nearer approach during the said cessation.

Your servant,
Oliver Cromwell.

I have by this bearer returned a safe-convoy, as you desire, for what Commissioners you think fit to send out to me.*

No. 16

Exchange of Prisoners: Renegado Wogan

[Vol. i. p. 519.]

The Narrative Fragment above cited has these words, in reference to the affair at Passage and its consequences: 'At that time, there being

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* Fragment of Narrative: in *Ayscough* [*Add.*] *MSS.* No. 4769, p. 95 *et seqq.*

'one Captain Caufield a prisoner at Clonmel, a stranger to the General, 'but being a prisoner on an English account, the Army concerned them-'selves for him, and at a Council of War certain Votes were passed,' which we shall soon read:

'For Lieutenant-General Farrell, Governor of Clonmel'

'Cork, 4th January 1649.'

"At the Council of War held at the City of Cork, the fourth day of "January, Anno Domini 1649, whereat the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, "the Lord President of Munster,[1] Sir Hardress Waller knight, and "divers other chief Officers of the Army were present, it was resolved "as follows: *viz.*

"1. That a letter be sent, by Lieutenant-General Farrell's trumpet, "to let him know, that for every private Foot-soldier of our party, "prisoner with him, whom he shall release, he shall have so many of "his private soldiers, prisoners with us, released for them; and for every "trooper of ours which he shall release, he shall have two private Foot-"soldiers released for him.

"2. That the Lord-Lieutenant is ready to release officers of like quality "for such officers of ours as are in their power; and that he will deliver "a Major of Foot for a Captain of Horse, and Two Captains of Foot "for a Captain of Horse; and so proportionably.

"3. Or that he will deliver Major-General Butler, the Earl of "Ormond's Brother, for those Officers of ours now in their custody."

'SIR,'

But having lately received an advertisement, that some of the principal officers of the Irish Army did send menacing orders to the Governor of Clonmel, to be communicated to the Lord Broughill, that if we did put to death Colonel Woogan, that they were ready to put Captain Caufeild to death,—I thought fit to offer to you the equal exchanges before mentioned; leaving you to your election, which when you perform, there shall be just and honest performance on my part. And withal to let you know, that if any shall think to put such conditions on me that I may not execute a person so obnoxious as Woogan,—who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men (whom he had seduced) into a foreign nation,[2] to invade England, under whom he had taken pay, and from whose service he was not discharged; and with the said nation did invade England; and hath since, contrary to the said trust, taken up arms here:—That 'then, I say,' as I am willing to the exchanges aforesaid; so, 'if' that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, that I am resolved to deal with Colonel Woogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon shall be done to Captain Caufeild as is menaced, I think fit to let you know, that I shall, as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life, into the same condition.

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[1] Ireton.

[2] Scotland: to join Hamilton and his *Engagement.* [See Letter CXVII., and for Wogan, *Clarke Papers*, vol. i. Appendix A.]

Your servant,
Oliver Cromwell.*

No. 17

Ireland: Arrangements for the Administration of Justice there

[Vol. i. p. 520.]

For my very worthy Friend John Sadler, Esq., one of the Masters of the Chancery in England: These

Cork, 31st Dec. 1649.

Sir,

To put a business of weight suddenly to your consideration may perhaps beget so much prejudice as may cause you either not to think of it at all, or to incline to the worser part when you resolve. The thing I have to offer hath been thought upon by us, as you will perceive by the reasons wherewith we enforce it; and we do willingly tender it to you; desiring God, not you, may give us the answer.

That a Divine Presence hath gone along with us in the late great transactions in this nation, I believe most good men are sensible of, and thankful to God for; and are persuaded that He hath a further end; and that as by this dispensation He hath manifested His severity and justice, so there will be a time wherein He will manifest grace and mercy, in which He so much delights. To us who are employed as instruments in this work the contentment that appears is, that we are doing our Master's work; that we have His presence and blessing with us;—and that we live in hope to see Him cause wars to cease, and bringing in that

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* Fragment of Narrative: in *Ayscough MSS.* No. 4769, *ubi supra.* [See another letter to O'Farrel on this subject, written a fortnight later. Supplement, No. 54.]

Kingdom of glory and peace which He hath promised. This being so, as the hope thereof occasions our comfort, so the seeing some way made already cannot but 'raise' hope that goodness and mercy intends to visit this poor Island. Therefore in what we may (as poor instruments), 'we' cannot but be endeavouring to answer the mind of God as any opportunity offers itself.

First let me tell you, in divers places where we are come, we find the people very greedy after the Word, and flocking to Christian meetings; much of that prejudice that lies upon poor people in England being a stranger to their minds. And truly we have hoped much of it is done in simplicity; and I mind you the rather of this because it is a sweet symptom, if not an earnest, of the good we expect.

In the next place, our condition was such at our first arrival here, by reason of the War, and prevalency of the Enemy,—that there was a dissolution of the whole frame of Government; there being no visible authority residing in persons entrusted to act according to the forms of law, except in two corporations [*Dublin and Derry at our arrival*] under the Parliament's power,[1] in this whole Land. And although it hath pleased God to give us much territory, yet how to fall suddenly into that way again, I see not; nor is it for the present practicable. Wherefore I am constrained, of my own authority, to issue out Commissions to persons to hear and determine the present controversies that do arise, as they may.

Sir, it seems to me we have a great opportunity to set up, until the Parliament shall otherwise determine, a way of doing justice amongst these poor people, which, for the uprightness and cheapness of it, may exceedingly gain upon them, who have been accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as, I believe, any people in that which we call Christendom. And indeed 'they' are accounted the bribing'st [*so to speak!*] people that are; they having been inured thereto. Sir, if justice were freely and impartially administered here, the foregoing darkness and corruption would make it look so much the more glorious and beautiful; and draw more hearts after it. I am loath to write what the consequences might be, or what may be said upon this subject; and therefore I shall let you know my desire in a word.

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[1] [The last four words omitted by Carlyle.]

There uses to be a Chief-Justice in the Province of Munster, who having some others with him in assistance, uses to hear and determine causes depending there: you are desired by me to accept of that employment. I do believe that nothing will suit your mind better than having a standing salary for the same; that so you may not be troubled with common allowances, which have been to others, I doubt, but a colour to their covetous practices. I dare assure you £1,000 a-year, half-yearly, to be paid by even parts, as your allowance; and although this be more than hath usually been allowed, yet shall we have wherewith readily to make performance, if you accept.

I know not how far this desire of mine will be intepreted by you as a call: but sure I am I have not done anything with a clearer breast, nor wherein I do more approve my heart to the Lord and His people in sincerity and uprightness; the Lord direct you what to do. I desire a few things of you: let my letter be as little seen as you may; you know what constructions are usually put upon some men's actings; and, were it fit to be committed to paper, would 'be' if I should say that this business, by the blessing of God, might be so managed as might abate much superfluity. I desire you not to discourse of the allowance but to some choice friends. Next I could desire, if you have any acquaintance with Mr. Graves the lawyer, you would move him to the acceptance of a place here, which should be honourable, and not to his outward disadvantage; and any other godly and able man you know of. Let me have your mind so soon as conveniently you may; and whether you have tried any as is desired, and whom, and what return they make.

Desiring your prayers, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

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* *General Dictionary* (by Birch, Bernard &c., London, 1739), vol. ix. 19-20, § SADLER (materials furnished by 'Thos. Sadler, Deputy Clerk of the Pells,' a descendant of this Sadler's).

Sadler did not go; John Cooke, Advocate famed in the King's trial, went. Of Graves I know nothing. Sadler has left some Books; indicating a strange corner of dreamy imaginativeness, in his otherwise solid, lucid and pious mind. A man much esteemed by Hartlib, Milton's friend, and by the world legal and other. He continued one of the Masters in Oliver's new Chancery, when the number was reduced to six. [He became Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, in the following August, but had to make way for the former master (Dr. Rainbow) at the Restoration. He helped to procure permission for the Jews to build a synagogue in London. This letter was first inserted by Carlyle in the 1857 edition.]

No. 18

IRELAND: OPERATIONS IN TIPPERARY

[Vol. ii. p. 27.]

COLONEL PHAYR is in Cork, 'with near Five-hundred foot,' since November last; Broghil, Fenton, and their relation to him, were also indicated in the Text.[1]

For Colonel Phayr, Governor of Cork: These. Haste, haste

Fethard, 9th of February 1649.

SIR,

It hath pleased God to be very gracious to us hitherto, in the possessing of Cashel, Fethard and Roghill Castle, without any blood. Callan cost us at least four or five men; but we are possessed of it also, and of divers other places of good importance. We are in the very bowels of Tipperary; and hope, will lie advantageously (by the blessing of God) for further attempts.

Many places take up our men: wherefore I must needs be earnest with you to spare us what you can. If you can send two companies more of your Regiment to Mallow,[2] do it. If not, one at the least; that so my Lord Broghil may spare us two or three of Colonel Ewers's, to meet him with the rest of his[3] Regiment at Fermoy.

Give Colonel Ewers what assistance you can in the business I have sent to him about. Salute all my friends with you. My service to Sir William Fenton. Pray for us. I rest,

Your very loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' Sir, if you think that we draw you too low in men; whilst we are in action,[4] I presume you are in no danger; however, I desire you would make this use of it, To rid the Town of Cork of suspicious and ill-affected persons as fast as you can. And herein deal with effect.*

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[1] Letters CXIV., CXV.

[2] 'Mayallo' in *orig.* [Moyallo appears to have been the usual form of the name at that time. The Castle belonged to the Jephsons and had been held as a garrison against the Irish by them, under charge of Capt. Bettesworth. It was taken by the rebels in 1645, but afterwards recovered. See letters amongst the *Egmont MSS.*, *Seventh Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 236.]

[3] *i.e.*, Colonel Ewers's.

[4] [Carlyle printed "whilst we are inactive," but probably through a transcriber's error, as the alteration spoils the sense.]

No. 19

HASELRIG AND DUNBAR BATTLE

[Vol. ii. p. 93.]

HERE, by the kindness of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne, are now (for our *Third* and all other *Editions*) the Letters themselves. This Gentleman, Grandson of the 'Steward of the Haselrigs' mentioned at p. 93, vol. ii., possesses all the Four Cromwell Letters alluded to by Brand; and has now (May 1847) beneficently furnished an exact copy of them, privately printed.[1] Letter CXXXIX. alone is autograph; the other Three are in a Clerk's hand [but signed by Cromwell.] Letter CXXXIX., Letter CXLI., these and the Two which follow here, it appears, Mr. O.'s Grandfather 'begged from the fire, on a day when 'much destruction of old Letters and waste Papers was going on at 'Nosely Hall,'—Letter CXXXIX. and all England are somewhat obliged to him! Here are the other Two:

1. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These*

Dunbar, 5th September 1650.

SIR,

After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends (to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur) but by sending them into England; where the Council of State may exercise their wisdom and better judgment in so dispersing and disposing of them, as that they may not suddenly return to your prejudice.

We have despatched away near 5,000 poor wretches of them;[2] very many of which, it's probable, will die of their wounds, or be rendered unserviceable for time to come by reason thereof. I have written to the Council of State, desiring them to direct how they shall be disposed of: and I make no question but you will hasten the prisoners up southwards, and second my desires with your own to the Council. I know you are a man of business. This, not being every-day's work, will willingly be performed by you; especially considering you have the commands of your superior.

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* *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1843, p. 266. Endorsed, by Phayr, 'The Lo. Leut Letter to mee the ninth of Febi 1649; About sending men.' By another hand there is also written on the outside, 'Mallo pasest,'—meaning, probably for Phayr's information, *Mallow possessed* (got, laid hold of). [First inserted by Carlyle in the 1857 edition.]

[1] [This little book is not in the British Museum, but a copy of it is in the possession of R. Welford, Esq., of Newcastle. See note, vol. ii., p. 93. The originals of the letters were handed back to the Hazelrig family by Mr. Ormston.]

[2] See vol. ii. pp. 113, 117, notes.

Sir, I judge it exceeding necessary you send us up what Horse and Foot you can, with all possible expedition; especially considering that indeed our men fall very sick; and if the Lord shall please to enable us effectually to prosecute this business, to the which He hath opened so gracious a way, no man knows but that it may produce a Peace to England, and much security and comfort to God's people. Wherefore, I pray you, continue to give what furtherance you can to this work, by speeding such supplies to us as you can possibly spare.—Not having more at present, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These: Haste, haste*

Edinburgh, 9th September 1650.

SIR,

I cannot but hasten you in sending-up what forces possibly you can. This enclosed was intended to you on Saturday, but could not come.

We are not able to carry on our business as we would, until we have wherewith to keep Edinburgh and Leith, until we attempt, and are acting, forwards. We have not, in these parts, 'at such a season of the year,' above two months to keep the field, therefore expedite what you can. And I desire you to send us free masons; you know not the importance of Leith.

I hope your northern guests are come to you, by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them; I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester. I have no more; but rest,

Your affectionate servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

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* Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne. [But see note above].

I desire, as forces come up, I may hear from time to time what they are, how their marches are laid, and when I may expect them.

My service to the dear Lady.*

No. 20

FOUR LETTERS TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF INDIVIDUAL MILITARY GENTLEMEN AND THEIR CLAIMS[1]

[Vol. ii. pp. 164, 196, 200, 202.]

Letter 1st, in Behalf of Col. Maleverer's Family. [Vol. ii. p. 164.]

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These

Edinburgh, 28th December 1650.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

It having pleased God to take away by death Colonel John Mauliverer, a very useful member of this Army, I thought it requisite to move you on the behalf of his sad widow and seven small children.

I need not say much. His faithfulness in your service, and his cheerfulness to be spent in the same, is very well known. And truly, he had a spirit very much beyond his natural strength of body, having undergone many fits of sickness during his hard service in the field, where he was constant and diligent in his charge; and, notwithstanding the weakness of his body, thought himself bound in conscience to continue to the utmost, preferring the public service before his private relations. And (as I have been credibly informed) his losses by the royal and malignant party have been very great; being occasioned by his appearing with the first in his country for the Parliament.

I have therefore made bold to represent these things before you, that you may timely consider of those that he hath left behind him, and bestow some mark of favour and respect upon them towards their comfortable subsistence. I rest, Sir,

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* Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne. [But see above.] Besides the Signature, "My service to the dear Lady" is also autograph.

[1] [These four letters, first inserted in the 1857 edition, were there numbered separately, but afterwards brought together under one head.]

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Letter 2nd, in Behalf of John Arundel of Trerice. [Vol. ii. p. 196.]

OLIVER is now in Scotland, busy enough with great matters; must not neglect the small either. Military gentlemen, ex-royalist even, applying to the Lord-General in their distress, seem to be a frequent item just now. To whom how can he be deaf, if it is undeserved distress?—'This Enclosed'[1] is from an Ex-Royalist Gentleman, Mr. John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall; and relates to what is now an old story, the Surrender of Pendennis Castle to Fairfax's people (August 1646); in which Mr. John, by the arbitrary conduct of a certain Parliamentary Official, suffers huge damage at this time,—a fine of no less than £10,000, 'quite ruinous to my poor estate,' and clear against bargain at the rendition of Pendennis, being now laid upon him by the arbitrary Parliamentary Official in those parts.[2] As not only human justice, but the honour of the Army is concerned, Mr. John has written to the Lord General,—the Trerice Arundels, he alleges furthermore, having once 'had the honour to stand in some friendship, 'or even kinship, with your noble family.' Oliver, during that hurried first[3] visit to Glasgow, writes in consequence:

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

Glasgow, 25th April 1651.

SIR,

Receiving this enclosed, and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith-keeping, and the direction of it not improper to myself from the party interested, forasmuch as it is the word and the faith of the Army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by which steps it hath proceeded, which this enclosed letter of the gentleman's will make manifest unto you: I make bold humbly to present the business to the Parliament.

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* *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, ii. 243). [vol. lvi. 241. Signed only by Cromwell. No address. Probably written almost directly after the Colonel's death; for on December 24, the Committee at York believed him to be still alive, giving "Col. John Mauleverer, now with the army in Scotland," in a list of late county commissioners now living. See. *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, p. 380.]

[1] *Ibid.* ii. 258.

[2] [The fine of 10,000*l.* set upon Col. John Arundel, formerly governor of Pendennis, and Richard his son, was set, not by an "arbitrary official," but by an order of Parliament (March 21 of this year) which order moreover stated that they were not to be admitted to composition, even at this high rate, if found guilty of treason since 1 February 1649 or henceforth. But as they were included in Pendennis Articles, the Court of War at Whitehall appears to have written off in hot haste to Cromwell, knowing well how keenly sensitive he was to the dishonour of any breach of the Army's plighted word. The delinquents declared that the sequestration of their estates for seven years had already more than paid the fine; however, they were ordered to pay 2000*l.* to make up the amount, and were then discharged. See *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 2237.]

[3] Second visit.

If he desires that which is not just and honourable for you to grant, I shall willingly bear blame for this trouble, and be glad to be denied: but if it be just and honourable, and tends to make good the faith of your servants, I take the boldness then to pray he may stand or fall according to that. And this desire, I hope, is in faithfulness to you; and will be so judged. I take leave; and rest, Sir,

Your most humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell.*

Letter 3rd, in Behalf of Colonel Clayton. [Vol. ii. p. 200.]

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

Edinburgh, 10th May 1651.

Sir,

I am very desirous to make an humble motion unto you on the behalf of Colonel Randall Clayton;—who, being taken prisoner[1] when I was in Ireland, was with some other officers adjudged to die, as those that had formerly served the Parliament, but were then partakers with the Lord Inchiquin in his revolt: and although the rest suffered, according to the sentence passed upon them, yet, with the advice of the chief officers, I thought meet to give him, the said Colonel Randall Clayton, his life, as one that is furnished with large abilities for the service of his country: and indeed there was the appearance of such remorse, and of a work of grace upon his spirit, that I am apt to believe he will hereafter prove an useful member unto the State, upon the best account.

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* *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, ii. 270). [*Tanner* liv. No. 48. Signed by Cromwell both inside and out. Endorsed, "Ld. General's letter touching Mr. Arundel's Articles, April 25. Not read. To be offered when the debates on the delinquents' bill."]

[1] See Letter CXXX., and Whitlocke, p. 432. [This young Colonel Clayton married Judith, eldest daughter of Sir Philip Percivale, much against her mother's and brother's wishes, as his estate was—as Cromwell here says—small and threatened with sequestration. But she was a spirited young lady, and got her own way. Her brother John appears to have been a favourite with Henry Cromwell.]

Having thus given him his release, and observing his Christian candour, I then promised him to negotiate with the Parliament for the taking-off the sequestration that is upon his estate, which indeed is but very small. I do therefore humbly entreat you to pass such a special act of favour towards him, whereby he will be engaged and enabled to prove his interest the more vigorously, in his place, for the advantage of the public.

I would not address such an overture to you, did I not suppose that the placing of this favour upon this person will be of very good use, and an act of much charity and tenderness. I rest,

Sir,
Your most humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell.*

Letter 4th, in Behalf of Colonel Borlace. [Vol. ii. p. 202.]

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

Edinburgh, 13th June 1651.

Sir,

Having received the enclosed petition and letter from the Officers of a Court of War at Whitehall, representing unto me that the faith of the Army concerning the Articles of Truro,[1] in the particular case of Colonel Nicholas Borlace, is violated; and the petitioner himself having come hither to Scotland, desiring me to be instrumental that the said Articles may be performed, and that the faith of the Army thereupon given might be made good: I do therefore humbly desire That the Parliament will please to take his case into consideration, and that his business may receive a speedy hearing (he being already almost quite exhausted in the prosecution thereof); that so justice may be done unto him, and that the faith of the Army may be preserved. I crave pardon for this trouble; and rest,

Sir,
Your most humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell.†

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[1] Hopton's Surrender, 14th March 1645-6 (*antea*, i. 220); a hurried Treaty, which gave rise to much doubting and pleading, in other instances than this.

* *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, ii. 272). [vol. liv. p. 62. Signed and sealed.]

† *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, ii. 276). [Amongst the *Portland MSS.* is a letter from Thomas Margetts to Cromwell, written on March 17, by desire of the Council of War, informing him that "Colonel Nicholas Borlace, though within the

No. 20 *

[Vol. ii. p. 199.]

General Harrison with some force, is on the Border, keeping open our communications. Along with that letter to Mrs. Cromwell goes another, dated the same day.

For the Honourable Major-General Harrison: These

Edinburgh, 3d May 1651.

Dear Harrison,

I received thine of the 23d of April. Thy letters are always very welcome to me.

Articles of Truro, had had goods and cattle above the value of 500*l.* taken by the Sequestrators' agent; that notwithstanding several letters from the late Lord General Fairfax and from Cromwell himself, he could get no relief; that the power of the Commissioners for relief upon Articles is determined, and the faith of the Army (in the breach of the Articles) is violated, and that the Council therefore desire that he will give him relief either by asking the Parliament to discharge his sequestrations and fine—amounting to 320*l.*—or otherwise." This appears to be the letter to which Cromwell refers, although the interval of time is long. But his illness may have delayed matters, or perhaps he waited for Borlace to come himself. Borlace's case (which will be found reported at great length in the *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, pp. 2001-6) is interesting as a specimen of the struggle which often went on between the different authorities over the bodies of the prostrate royalists. Briefly given, it was thus. In 1649, he petitioned to compound on Truro Articles, and his fine was set accordingly. But the following year, the County Committee for Cornwall reported that being "a papist delinquent in arms," and his wife and children papists, he was incapable of composition." The Committee for Compounding agreed, and ordered his whole estate to be sequestered. At this point the Committee for Relief on Articles of War interfered and insisted on the sequestered goods being restored until inquiry had been made. But meanwhile Iago, one of the County Commissioners, had got possession of part of the estate and was by no means willing to let go his hold. It was at this stage that Cromwell was appealed to, and wrote as requested to Parliament on his behalf, but in spite of the efforts of the Committee for Relief, the letters of Lord General Cromwell, the personal appeal of Lord Fairfax and the decision of the Council of War, in February 1652 Borlace had to complain that Iago had heeded none of these things, that his lands were all under sequestration, and that he and his children were enforced to live "on the mere charity of their neighbours." The Committee for Compounding upheld their officer, declaring that Borlace, as a convicted papist, could not be released and that Iago had only done his duty. The Committee on Articles of War defended the petitioner, again declared that he was comprised in the Articles and forbid his estate to be meddled with. The struggle went on until August 1653, when the Committee for Articles wrote so angry a letter to the Committee for Compounding (followed in January, by an order from the Protector himself) that they gave way, "held themselves bound to obey" the Committee for Articles, and ordered restoration of the estate. Borlace then proceeded to try to obtain some of his arrears, but at this the Committee for Compounding flamed up again, told him that they very ill resented his vexatious proceedings, and threatened that if he persisted in his refractoriness, they should make void their order and proceed against him as before.]

Although your new militia forces are so bad as you mention, yet I am glad that you are in the head of them; because I believe God will give you a heart to reform them; a principal means whereof will be, by placing good officers over them, and putting out the bad; whereunto you will not want my best furtherance and concurrence. I have had much such stuff to deal withal in those sent to me into Scotland; but, blessed be the Lord, we have 'been' and are reforming them daily, finding much encouragement from the Lord therein; only we do yet want some honest men to come to us to make officers. And this is the grief, that this being the cause of God and of His people, so many saints should be in their security and ease, and not come out to the work of the Lord in this great day of the Lord.

I hear nothing of the men you promised me. Truly I think you should do well to write to friends in London and elsewhere, to quicken their sense in this great business. I have written this week to Sir Henry Vane, and given him a full account of your affairs. I hope it will not be in vain.

I think it will be much better for you to draw nigher to Carlisle, where 'are' twelve troops of horse, whereof six are old troops, and five or six of dragoons. Besides, the troops you mention upon the borders will be ready upon a day's notice to fall into conjunction with you, so that if any parties should think to break into England (which, through the mercy of God, we hope to have an eye to), you will be, upon that conjunction, in a good posture to obviate 'them'.

Truly I think that if you could be at Penrith and those parts, it would do very well. And I do therefore desire you, as soon as you can, to march thither. Whereby also you and we shall have the more frequent and constant correspondency one with another.

And it will be better, if a party of the enemy should happen to make such an attempt, to fight him before he have an opportunity to get far into our country.

I have offered a consideration also to our friend at London, that you might have two regiments of foot sent too, 'of' which I am not without hope.

The Lord bless you and keep you, and increase the number of His faithful ones. Pray for us, and for him who assures you he is your affectionate faithful friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

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* Letter in possession of B. S. Elcock, Esq., of Prior-Park Buildings, Bath. (*Note of* 1869). [This letter was not in any of the earlier editions of Carlyle.]

No. 21

MARCH TO WORCESTER

[Vol.ii. p. 216.]

OLIVER, in his swift March from Scotland towards Worcester, takes Ripon and Doncaster as stages: Provision for us must be 'in readiness against our coming.'

'To the Mayor and Corporation of Doncaster: These'

Ripon, 18th August 1651.

GENTLEMEN,

I intend, God willing, to be at Doncaster with the Army on Wednesday[1] night or Thursday morning: and forasmuch as the soldiers will need a supply of victual, I desire you to give notice to the country, and to use your best endeavours to cause bread, butter, cheese and flesh to be brought in, and to be in readiness there against our coming; for which the country shall receive ready money. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest,

Your very loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 22

AFTER WORCESTER BATTLE: LETTERS TO THE SPEAKER

[Vol ii. p. 226.]

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

Evesham, 8th September 1651.

SIR,

The late most remarkable, seasonable and signal victory, which our good God (to whom alone be ascribed all the glory) was pleased to vouchsafe your servants against the Scottish Army at Worcester, doth, as I conceive, justly engage me humbly to present in reference thereunto this consideration: that as the Lord appeared so wonderfully in His mercies towards you, so it will be very just to extend mercy to His people, our friends that suffered in these parts upon this occasion; and that some reparation may be made them out of the sequestration or estates of such as abetted this engagement against you. The town being entered by storm, some honest men, promiscuously and without distinction, suffered by your soldiers; which could not at that time possibly be prevented, in the fury and heat of the battle.

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[1] Wednesday is 20th.

* Original in the possession of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., Hornby Castle, Lancashire (communicated, 19th October 1850).

I also humbly present to your charity the poor distressed wife and children of one William Guise, of the city of Worcester, who was barbarously put to death by the Enemy for his faithfulness to the Parliament. The man (as I am credibly informed) feared the Lord; and upon that account likewise deserveth more consideration. Really, Sir, I am abundantly satisfied, that divers honest men, both in city and country, suffered exceedingly (even to the ruin of their families), by these parts being the seat of the war: and it will be an encouragement to honest men, when they are not given over to be swallowed-up in the same destruction with enemies.

I hope the Commissioners of the Militia will be very careful and discerning in the distribution of your charity. I cannot but double my desires, that some speedy course may be taken herein.

I have sent the Mayor and Sheriff of Worcester to Warwick Castle, here to attend the pleasure of Parliament concerning their Trial and remain; I having not opportunity to try them by Court Martial. I have also taken security of the other Aldermen who remained in the city, to be forthcoming when I shall require them.

It may be well worthy your consideration, That some severity be shown to some of those of this Country, as well of quality as meaner ones, who, having been engaged in the former War, did now again appear in arms against you. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

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* *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, ii. 378). [vol. lv. 46. Only closing words, signature and date, in Cromwell's own hand.]

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These

Chipping Norton, 8th September 1651.

Sir,

I have sent this Bearer, Captain Orpyn, with the colours taken in the late fight; at least as many of them as came to my hands, for I think very many of them have miscarried. I believe the number of those sent will be about an hundred; the remain also being forty or fifty, which were taken at the engagement in Fife.[1] I ask pardon for troubling you herewith; and rest,

Sir,
Your most humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell.*

No 23

Letter to Sister Elizabeth

[Vol. i. p. 17, note; ii. p. 245]

By accident, another curious glimpse into the Cromwell family. 'Sister Elizabeth,' of whom, except the date of her birth and that she died unmarried,[2] almost nothing is known, comes visibly to light here; 'living at Ely,' in very truth (as Noble had guessed she did); quietly boarded at some friendly Doctor's there, in the scene and among the people always familiar to her. She is six years older than Oliver; now and then hears from him, we are glad to see, and receives 'small tokens of his love' of a substantial kind. For the rest, sad news in this Letter! Son Ireton is dead of fever in Ireland; the tidings reached London just a week ago.

For my dear Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, at Doctor Richard Stand[3] *his house at Ely: These*

'Cockpit,' 15th December 1651.

Dear Sister,

I have received divers letters from you; I must desire you to excuse my not writing so often as you expect: my burden is not ordinary, nor are my weaknesses a few to go thorough therewith; but I have hope in a better strength.—I have herewith sent you twenty pounds as a small token of my love. I hope I shall be mindful of you. I wish you and I may have our rest and satisfaction where all saints have theirs. What is of this world will be found transitory; a clear evidence whereof is my son Ireton's death. I rest,

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[1] Inverkeithing Fight in July: see Letter CLXXV.

[2] *Antea*, i. 17.

[3] Query, not *Hand?* [Probably *Stane*. See Supplement, No. 6 (3).]

* *Tanner MSS.* (in Cary, ii. 380). [vol. lv. 54. Signed by Cromwell, and sealed.]

Dear Sister,

Your affectionate Brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

'P.S.'[1] My Mother, Wife, and your friends here remember their loves.

No 24

LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE FOR SEQUESTRATIONS IN BEHALF OF MR. AND MRS. FINCHAM

[Vol. ii. p. 249]

THOMAS FINCHAM, Esquire, of Oatwell, Isle of Ely, is on the list of Delinquents:[2] Oliver, as an old friend or at least neighbour, will do what he can for him.

To the Commissioners for Sequestration, at Goldsmiths' Hall: These

Cockpit,—December 1651.

GENTLEMEN,

I formerly recommended unto you the petition of one Mr. Fincham and his wife, desiring that if it were in your power to give remedy in their case, you would be pleased to hear them, according to the equity of their case. And forasmuch as they have waited long in Town for a hearing, to their great charge and expenses, which their present condition will not well bear, I again earnestly desire that you will grant them your favour of a speedy hearing of their business, and to relieve them according to the merits and justice of their case: whereby you will very much oblige,

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* Original shown me, and copied for me (26th October 1853), by Mr. Puttick, Auctioneer, 191 Piccadilly,—who sold it, with another (Letter to *Dick*, *2d April* 1650, *Carrick*, our Letter CLXXXII.), next day, 'for 9 guineas, to Mr. Holloway, Bedford Street:' the *Dick*, a long letter, in very good keeping, went 'for 26 guineas, to Mr. John Young, 6 Size Lane, Bucklersbury.'

[1] On the margin.

[2] [Fincham and his wife were not delinquents. On the contrary, they plead that they have been "constantly faithful to Parliament." Their petition is that the wife—whose maintenance is charged upon Plumstead Manor, now sequestered for the delinquency of her brother, Sir Miles Hobart—may not lose her portion for the offence of another. See *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, p. 2324.]

Gentlemen,
Your very loving friend,
Oliver Cromwell.*

No 25

To Oxford and Cambridge

[Vol. ii. p. 251.]

From those nine months of 1652 remain certain other small vestiges or way-marks; relating, as it happens, to the Universities, of one of which Oliver was Chancellor. The first is a Letter to Oxford.

'Greenwood' we have already seen: 'Goodwin' is the famed Independent, at this time President of Magdalen College. Of 'Zachary Maine,' and his wishes and destinies, the reader can find an adequate account in Wood, with express allusion to the Letter which follows.[1] Zachary's desire was complied-with. A godly young man, from Exeter City; not undeserving such a favour; who lived seven years in profitable communion with Goodwin, Owen and the others; then, at the Restoration, fell into troubles, into waverings; but ended peaceably as Master of the Free school of Exeter, the Mayor and Chamber favouring him there.

1. *To the Reverend my very loving Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford*

'Cockpit,' 12th April 1652.

Sir,

Mr. Thomas Goodwin hath recommended unto me one Zachary Maine, demy of Magdalen College, to have the favour to be dispensed-with for the want of two or three terms in the taking of his degree of bachelor. I am assured that he is eminently godly, of able parts, and willing to perform all his exercises. Upon which account (if it will not draw along with it too great an inconvenience) I desire that he may have the particular favour to be admitted to the said degree. Which I intend not to draw into a precedent, but shall be very sparing therein.

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* Composition Papers, in State-Paper Office. [*S. P. Interregnum*, G. 85, No. 923—At the Public Record Office.]

[1] *Athenæ*, iv. 411.

I remain, Sir,
Your very loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

The Second an official Protection to Cambridge:

2. *To all Officers, Soldiers under my command, and others whom it may concern*

These are to charge and require you, upon sight hereof: not to quarter any Officers or Soldiers in any the Colleges, Halls or other Houses belonging to the University of Cambridge; nor to offer any injury or violence to any of the students or members of any of the Colleges or Houses of the said University. As you shall answer the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal, the First of July 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

Note. In the Archives of Trinity College Cambridge is a Patent duly signeted, and superscribed "Oliver P.," of date "Whitehall, 21st October 1654;" appointing Richard Pratt, "who, as we are informed, is very poor and necessitous," a *Bedesman* (small pensioner for life) of that College. Which merely official Piece, as Richard Pratt too, except this of being poor, is without physiognomy for us, we do not insert here.[1]

The Third and Fourth are for Oxford again:

3. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford*

Whereas divers applications have been made unto me, from several of the Members of the University of Oxford, concerning differences which have arisen between the Members of the said University about divers matters which fall under my cognisance as Chancellor: And forasmuch as differences and complaints of the like nature may 'again' happen and arise between them: And considering that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to the parties concerned to attend me at this distance about the same: And the present burden of public affairs not permitting me so fully to hear and understand the same as to be able to give my judgment and determination therein:

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*From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss. [This and the following letters to Oxford are not the original letters, but entries in one of the Statute books of the University. There are several other "recommendations" by Cromwell, but the above serves as a specimen of the rest.]

†Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 452. [*Baker MSS.* xxxvi. 154.]

[1] Copy *penes me.*

I do hereby desire and authorise Mr. John Owen, now Vicechancellor of the University, and the Heads of the several Colleges and Halls there, or any five or more of them (whereof the said Vicechancellor to be one), to hear and examine all such differences and complaints which have 'arisen,' or shall arise, between any of the said Members; giving them as full power and authority as in me lies to order and determine therein as, in their judgments, they shall think meet and agreeable to justice and equity. And this power and commission to continue during the space of six months now next ensuing.

Given under my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

Oliver Cromwell.

4. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford*

Whereas within the University of Oxford there frequently happen several things to be disposed, granted and confirmed, wherewith the Vicechancellor, Doctors-Regent, Masters and others of the said University, in their Delegacies and Convocations, cannot by their statutes dispense, grant or confirm, without the assent of their Chancellor: And forasmuch as the present weighty affairs of the Commonwealth do call for and engage me to reside, and give my personal attendance, in or near London; so that the scholars of the said University and others are put to much charge and trouble by coming to London to obtain my assent in the cases before mentioned: Therefore, taking the premises into consideration, For the more ease and benefit of the said scholars and University, and that I may with less avocation and diversion attend the councils and service of the Commonwealth:

I do by these presents ordain, authorise, appoint and delegate Mr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vicechancellor of the said University; Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Warden of Merton College; Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; and Mr. Peter French, Prebend of Christchurch, or any Three or more of them, To take into consideration all and every matter of dispensation, grant or confirmation whatsoever which requires my assent as Chancellor to the said University, and thereupon to dispense, grant, confirm, or otherwise dispose thereof, as to them shall seem meet; and to certify the same to the Convocation. And all and every such dispensation, grant, confirmation or disposition made by the aforesaid Mr. John Owen, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Peter French, or any three or more of them, shall be to all intents and purposes firm and valid, in as full, large and ample manner as if to every such particular act they had my assent in writing under my hand and seal, or I had been personally present and had given my voice and suffrage thereunto.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 26

LETTER TO LORD WHARTON ABOUT HENRY CROMWELL'S MARRIAGE

[Vol. ii. p. 218.]

'POOR foolish Mall,' whom we guessed in the Text to be on a visit at Winchington, was then busy there, it would seem, and is now again busy, on a very important matter: scheme of marriage between her Brother Henry, now in Ireland, and her fair Friend here, Lord Wharton's Daughter,—the Lady Elizabeth, his eldest, as may be clearly inferred from the genealogies.[1] The Lord General approves; match most honourable; shall not fail for want of money on his part. Unless, indeed, 'the just scruples of the Lady' prove unsurmountable? Which, apparently, they did. Both parties afterwards married: the Lady Elizabeth to 'the third Earl Lindsay[2];' Henry Cromwell a 'Russel of Chippenham;' on which latter event, the 'Dalby and Broughton,' here mentioned, were actually settled upon Henry. Burleigh and Oakham went to his brother Richard.

'For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These'

'Cockpit,' 30th June 1652.

MY DEAR LORD,

Indeed I durst not suddenly make up any judgment what would be fit for me to do or desire, in the business you know of, but being engaged to give you an account upon our last conference, I shall be bold to do that, and add a word or two therewith.

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* From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

[1] Lipscomb's *History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1847), i. 544.

[2] [*i.e.* Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey.]

For the estate I mentioned, I cannot now (by reason my Steward is not here) be so exact as I would: but the lands I design for this occasion are Burleigh, Oakham, and two other little things not far distant; in all about 1900*l.* per annum. Moreover Dalby 'and' Broughton, 1600*l.* per annum. Burleigh hath some charge upon it, which will in convenient time be removed. This is near twice as much as I intended my Son: yet all is unworthy of the honourable person.

My Lord, give me leave to doubt that the lady hath so many just scruples, which if not very freely reconciled may be too great a tentation to her spirit, and also have after-inconveniences. And although I know your Lordship so really,[1] yet I believe you may have your share of difficulties to conflict with; which may make the business uneasy: wherefore, good my Lord, I beg it, If there be not freedom and cheerfulness in the noble person, let this affair slide easily off, and not a word more be spoken about it, as your Lordship's 'own' thoughts are. So hush all, and save the labour of little Mall's fooling, lest she incur the loss of a good friend indeed. My Lord, I write my heart plainly to you, as becomes, my Lord,

Your most affectionate servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 27

SCRAPS FROM 1653

[Vol. ii. p 308.]

1. In a volume of the *Annual Register* are given certain Letters or Petitions concerning the printing of Dr. Walton's Polyglott Bible. At the end of the Petitions is the following:

'Whitehall,' 16th May 1653.

I THINK fit that this work of printing the Bible in the Original and other Languages go on without any let or interruption.

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

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[1] 'reallilye' in *orig.*

*Original in Bodleian Library; endorsed by Lord Wharton, "My Lord Generall to mee about his Sonne." Printed in *Illustrated London News*, 7th November 1856. [Printed also in Prendergast and Russell's report on the *Carte MSS.* in the Bodleian Library, p. 25. The reference to the original is *Carte MS.* ciii. 77. First inserted by Carlyle in his 1857 edition. *Cf.* vol. ii., 251, 256.]

†*Annual Register*, xxxvi. 373-4.

'By favour of whose Government,' as Walton in his Preface furthermore records, 'we had our paper free of duty, *quorum favore chartam a vectigalibus immunem habuimus*,'—with perhaps other furtherances. See Irwell's Life of Pocock (reprint. London, 1816), pp. 209-211.

2. Here, lest any one should be again sent hunting through 'Pegge's Manuscripts,' take the following highly insignificant Official Note-Date, four weeks after the Dismissal of the Rump; when the 'Committee of the Army,' and Oliver 'Commander of all the Forces raised and to be raised,' are naturally desirous to know the state of the Army-Accounts. Where Mitchell commands at present, I do not know,[1] nor whether he might be the 'Captain Mitchell' who was known some years ago in a disagreeable transaction with the Lord-General's Secretary,[2] and whose Accounts may be rather specially a matter of interest.

For Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell

Whitehall, 18th May 1653.

SIR,

You are desired with all expedition to prepare and send to the Committee for the Army an account of all moneys by you received upon their warrants between the fifteenth of January 1647 and the twentieth of October 1651, for the use of the Forces within the time aforesaid under your command, or for the use of any other Regiment, Troop or Company, by or for whom you were entrusted or appointed to receive any money.

And in case you cannot perfect your account, and send the same, as you are hereby directed, before the seventh of June next, you are desired by that time at the farthest to send in writing under your hand to the said Committee, what moneys by you received as aforesaid do remain in your hands.

Hereof you are not to fail.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

3. Among the State-Papers in Paris there have lately been found Three small Notes to Mazarin, not of much, if indeed of almost any moment, but worth preserving since they are here. Two of them belong to this Section. The first, which exists only in French, apparently as translated for Mazarin's reading, would not be wholly without significance if we had it in the original. It is dated just three days after that Summons

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[1] [Lieut.-Col. William Mitchell was then serving in Scotland. Mr. Firth believes that he was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of foot lately commanded by Major-General Richard Deane. He succeeded to the command of Overton's regiment in 1655.]

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 61), 22d-29th June 1649.

* *Pegge's MSS.* (in the College of Arms, London), vii. 425.

to the Puritan Notables;[1]—and the Lord General, we see, struggles to look upon himself as a man that has done with Political Affairs.

'A Son Eminence, Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin'

De Westminster, ce 9-19 *Juin* 1653.

Monsieur,

J'ai été surpris de voir que votre Eminence ait voulu penser à une personne si peu considérable que moi, vivant en quelque façon rétiré du reste du monde. Cet honneur a fait avec juste raison une si forte impression sur moi, que je me sens obligé de servir votre Eminence en toutes occasions; et comme je m'estimerai heureux de les pouvoir rencontrer, j'espère que M. de Bourdeaux en facilitera les moyens à celui qui est, Monsieur,

De votre Eminence
Le très-humble serviteur,
*Oliver Cromwell.**

Of which take this Version:

"Westminster, 9th June 1653.

"Sir,—I have been surprised that your Eminency was pleased to "remember a person so inconsiderable as myself, living as it were "withdrawn from the rest of the world. This honour has justly such "a resentment with me that I feel myself bound, by all opportunities, "to be serviceable to your Eminency; and as I shall be happy to meet "with such, so I hope M. de Bourdeaux," the Ambassador, "will help "to procure them to, Sir,

"Your Eminency's most humble servant,
"Oliver Cromwell."

Nay here now (*Edition* 1857) is the Original itself; politely forwarded to me, three years ago, by the Translator of M. Guizot's *English Commonwealth*, where doubtless it has since appeared in print:[2]

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[1] *Antea*, vol. ii. p. 269.

[2] [See Scoble's Translation, Appendix No. 4. But one would judge this English version to be a re-translation from the French, rather than the original. There is no English version, either original or copy, in the Archives.]

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c. [Against the word "Monsieur," the contemporary translator has written: "Il a mis en Anglois *Sire*, qui se donne aux roys et aux princes". Carlyle has modernised the spelling.]

Westminster, the 9th of June 1653.

It's surprise to me that your Eminency should take notice of a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, separate from the world. This honour has, as it ought, 'made' a very deep impression upon me, and does oblige 'me' to serve your Eminency upon all occasions: and as I shall be happy to find out 'such,' so I trust that very honourable person, Monsieur Burdoe, will therein be helpful to,

Your Eminency's thrice-humble servant,
O. Cromwell.

4. The negotiations with Whitlocke for going on that perilous Embassy to Sweden have left us the following offhand specimen of an Official Note from Oliver. Oliver and Pickering had already been earnestly dealing with the learned man that he would go: at their subsequent interview, Oliver observed to Whitlocke, "Sir Gilbert" Pickering "would needs write a very fine Letter; and when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that to you:"

'To Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal'

Whitehall, 2d September 1653.

My Lord,

The Council of State having thoughts of putting your Lordship to the trouble of being Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Swedeland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto. Wherefore they were pleased to command our service to make this address to your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour and abilities for this employment. To which we begging your answer, do rest,

My Lord,
Your humble servants,
Oliver Cromwell.
Gilbert Pickering.*

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[1] ["O. Cromwell P." the translator has, but Carlyle naturally omitted the "P". For another letter which must have been written about this time, *see* Supplement, No. 79*a*.]

* From Whitlocke's Account of his Embassy (quoted in Forster, iv. 319). [There is a contemporaneous copy of this amongst the MSS. of the Marquis of Bath (See *Third Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 192) where also are the instructions to Whitelocke, signed and sealed by Cromwell. These are put amongst the papers of January—May, 1654, but if they are his original instructions, they were finally settled and ordered to be "fair written" on October 27, 1653. White-

5. The Little Parliament has now dismissed itself, and Oliver has henceforth a new Signature.

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin'

'Whitehall,' 26th January 1653.

My Lord,

Monsieur de Baas[1] hath delivered me the Letter which your Eminency hath been pleased to write to me; and also communicated by word of mouth your particular affections and good disposition towards me, and the affairs of these Nations as now constituted. Which I esteem a very great honour; and hold myself obliged, upon the return of this Gentleman to you, to send my thanks to your Eminency for so singular a favour; my just resentment whereof I shall upon all occasions really demonstrate; and be ready to express the great value I have of your person and merits, as your affairs and interest shall require from,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

Oliver P.*

6. 'The Corporation of Lynn Regis,' it appears, considered that the navigation of their Port would be injured by the works now going on for Draining the great Bedford Level of the Fens. They addressed the Protector on the subject; and this is his Letter in answer thereto. Nothing came of it further.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynn Regis

Whitehall, 30th January 1653.

Gentlemen,

I received yours; and cannot but let you know the good resentments I have of your respects; assuring you that I shall be always ready to manifest a tender love and care of you and your welfare, and in particular of that concernment of yours relating to navigation. Commending you to the grace of God, I remain,

Your loving friend,

Oliver P.†

---

locke sailed from Tilbury Hope in the *Phœnix* on November 6, and arrived at Gottenburg on November 15 (see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1653-4, pp. 218, 346). The letter, as calendared in the Report on the Longleat papers, is said to be from Cromwell and Sir "George" Pickering, but this is of course an error.]

[1] The new Envoy, or agent; of whom in the next No.

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c. [The last few words in Oliver's own hand.]

† *History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge*, (London, fol. 1766), p. 55. ["But I suppose nothing was done" says the author; "for Aug. 29, 1654, it was ordered at a congregation then

No. 28

From 1654-1655: VOWEL'S PLOT; RECTORY OF HOUGHTON CONQUEST; PENRUDDOCK'S PLOT; LETTER TO THE POET WALLER; NEW ENGLAND [Vol. ii. pp. 332, 437, 447.]

1. Another wholly insignificant Official Note to Mazarin, in regard to Vowel's Plot, and the dismissal of M. De Baas for his complicity in it. De Baas, whom some call Le Baas, or rightly Le Bas, was a kind of subsidiary Agent despatched by Mazarin early in the Spring of 1653-4 'to congratulate the new Protector,'—that is, to assist Bourdeaux, who soon after got the regular title of Ambassador, in ascertaining how a Treaty could be made with the new Protector, or, on the whole, what was to be done with England and him. Hitherto, during the Dutch War and other vicissitudes, there had been a mixed undefinable relation between the two Countries, rather hostile than neutral. The 'Treaty and firm Amity,' as we know, had its difficulties, its delays; in the course of which it occurred to M. Le Bas that perhaps the Restoration of Charles Stuart, by Vowel and Company, might be a shorter cut to the result. Examination of Witnesses, in consequence: examination of Le Bas himself by the Protector and Council, in consequence; mild hint to Le Bas that he must immediately go home again.[1]

'Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino'

EMINENTISSIME CARDINALIS,

In Litteris Nostris ad Regem datis, causas et rationes recensuimus quare Dominum De Baas ex hâc Republicâ excedere jussimus, et Majestatem Suam certam fecimus, Nos, non obstante hâc dicti de Baas machinatione, cujus culpam ei solummodo imputamus, in eâdem adhuc sententiâ perstare, firmam arctamque Pacem et Amicitiam cum Galliâ colendi et paciscendi. Atque hâc occasione gratum nobis est priora illa propensæ nostræ erga vos et res vestras voluntatis indicia et testimonia renovare; quam etiam, datâ subinde occasione, palam facere et luculenter demonstrare parati erimus. Interea Eminentiam vestram Divinæ benignitatis præsidio commendamus.

Dab. ex Albâ Aulâ, vicesimo nono Junii an. 1654.

*OLIVERIUS P.**

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held in the Guildhall, Lynn Regis, that Mr. Recorder be desired to draw up a petition to the next Parliament for redress of the prejudices done to their navigation by the fen-drainers."]

[1] Depositions concerning him (April, May, 1654), Thurloe, ii. 309, 351-3: notice of his first arrival (February 1653-4), *ibid.* 113. See also *ibid.* 379, 437.

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c. [The signature has been torn off.]

Of which, if it be worth translating, this is the English:

"MOST EMINENT CARDINAL,—In our letter to the King we have set "forth the grounds and occasions moving us to order M. De Baas to "depart from this Commonwealth; and have assured his Majesty, that "notwithstanding this deceit of the said De Baas, the blame of which "is imputed to him alone, we persist as heretofore in the same purpose "of endeavouring and obtaining a firm and intimate Peace and Amity "with France. And it gives us pleasure, on this occasion, to renew "those former testimonies of our good inclination towards you and "your interests; which also, as opportunity offers, we shall in future "be ready to manifest and clearly demonstrate. In the mean while, "we commend your Eminency to the keeping of the Almighty.

"OLIVER P.

"Whitehall, 29th June 1654."

2. PRESENTATION TO THE RECTORY OF HOUGHTON CONQUEST

'*Communicated to me*' (Thomas Baker, the Cambridge Antiquary) '*by my worthy friend Brown Willis Esq. of Whaddon Hall in Com.* '*Bucks, from the original Presentation in the hands of a friend of* '*his.*'

OLIVER P.

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to the Commissioners authorised by a late Ordinance for Approbation of Public Preachers, or 'to' any five of them, greeting. We present John Pointer to the Rectory of Houghton Conquest in the county of Bedford, void by the death of the late Incumbent, and to our presentation belonging; to the end he may be approved-of by them, and admitted thereunto, with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever, according to the tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance.

Given at Whitehall, the 29th of September 1654.*

3. DESIGN AGAINST THE SPANISH WEST INDIES

[Vol. ii. pp. 396, 444.]

OUR great Design against the Spaniards in the West Indies is still called only 'a Design by Sea,' and kept very secret. Proper, however, as the rumours probably are loud, to give the Parliament, now sitting, some hint of it. Hence this Letter; of no moment otherwise. Unluckily 'the right-hand border of the Paper is now much worn away;' so that several words are wanting,—conjecturally supplied here, *in italics*.

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* *Harl. MSS.* No. 7053, f. 153.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament

Whitehall, 22d September 1654.

MR. SPEAKER,

I have, by advice of the Council, undertaken a design by sea, very much (as we hope and judge) for the honour and advantage of the Commonwealth, and have already made the preparations requisite for such an undertaking. But before I proceed to the execution thereof, the Parliament being now convened, I thought it agreeable to my trust to communicate to them the aforesaid resolution, and not to defer the do[*ing*] thereof[1] any longer (although I suppose you may be engaged, at the present, in matters of great weight); because many *miscarriages* will fall out in this business through too long delay, as well in *providing* of the charge as otherwise; the well-timing of such a *design* being as considerable as anything about it. And the*refore I* desire you to take your first opportunity to acquaint *the House* with the contents of this letter, wherein I have *forborne* to be more particular, because there are several *persons* in Parliament who know this whole business, and *can inform* the House of all particulars, if the House do judge *it to be* consistent with the nature of the design to have it o*ffered* to them particularly: which I refer to their consideration; and rest,

Your assured friend,

OLIVER P.*

4. NEW APPOINTMENTS; ANNOUNCEMENT OF THEM TO THE PARLIAMENT

OLIVER P.

To Our right trusty and right well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament

RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED,

We greet you well. It being expressed in the Thirty-fourth Article of the Government, That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parliament, and in the intervals of Parliament by the approbation of the major part of the Council,—to be afterwards approved by the Parliament; and several Persons of integrity and ability having been appointed by me (with the Council's approbation) for some of those services before the meeting of the Parliament;—I have thought it necessary to transmit unto you, in the enclosed Schedule, the names of those persons, to the end that the resolution of the Parliament may be known concerning them: which I desire may be with such speed as the other public occasions of the Commonwealth will admit. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

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[1] [Carlyle printed "to desire the delay."]

* 'Autograph Letter throughout.' Copy *penes me;* reference (*Tanner MSS.* no doubt) is unfortunately lost.—See *Commons Journals*, vii. 369 (22d September 1654) for the Return made. [The reference is *Tanner MS.* lii. 130, but the letter is not autograph. The signature only is Oliver's, in a very tremulous hand.]

Given at Whitehall, this Fifth day of October 1654.*

Enclosure is endorsed: "The Schedule inclosed in his Highnes Letter of ye 5th of October 1654."—"Read October 5th, 1654; and again, 6th Oct." [1]

Charles Fleetwood, Esquire	Deputy of Ireland.
Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esquire	Commissioners of the Great Seal of England.
Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt.	
John Lisle, Esquire	
The Three Commissioners of the Great Seal above-named	Commissioners of the Treasury.
The Lord Chief Justice Rolle	
The Lord Chief Justice St. John	
Edward Montague, Esquire	
William Sydenham, Esquire	
Henry Rolle	Chief Justice of the Court of Upper Bench.
Oliver St. John	Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

5 and 6. The following Two Letters, one of which is clearly of Thurloe's composition, have an evident reference to Penruddock's affair; they find their place here.

Sergeant Wilde, now more properly Lord Chief Baron Wilde [2] is a Worcester man; sat in the Long Parliament for that City, very prominent all along in Law difficulties and officialities,—in particular, directly on the heel of the Second Civil War, Autumn 1648, he rode circuit, and did justice on offenders, without asking his Majesty's opinion on the subject; which was thought a great feat on his part.[1] Shortly after which he was made Chief Baron, and so continues,—holding even now the Spring Assizes at Worcester, I think. Thurloe, as we said, appears to have shaped this Letter into words; only the signature and meaning can be taken as Oliver's. Ululuckily too, either Mrs. Warner the Editress must have misread the date '25th' for 24th, or else Thurloe himself in his haste have miswritten, forgetting that it was New Year's Day overnight, that it is not now 1654 but 1655. We will take the former hypothesis; and correct Mrs. Warner's '25th,' which in this case makes a whole year of difference.

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* Original, with the Great Seal attached, in *Tanner MSS.* lii. 135.—See *Commons Journals*, vii. 378 (24th October 1654).

[1] [Endorsed also "read 24th," which, as is shown by *Commons Journals*, is correct.]

[2] [Lord Chief Baron Wilde would not be addressed as Serjeant-at-Law. The letter is to Sir John Walsh.]

For Sir John Walsh,[2] *Serjeant-at-Law, and the rest of the Justices of Peace for the County of Worcester, or any of them, to be communicated to the rest; or, in his absence, to Nicholas Lechmere, Esq., Worcester*

Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

GENTLEMEN,

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the hand of God going along with us, in defeating the late rebellious insurrection. And we hope that, through His blessing upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole design. Yet knowing the restlessness[3] of the common Enemy to involve this Nation in new calamities, we conceive ourselves, and all others who are entrusted with preserving the peace of the Nation, obliged to endeavour in their places to prevent and defeat the Enemy's intentions. And therefore, as a means especially conducing to that end, we do earnestly recommend [to you] to take orders that diligent Watches (such as the Law hath appointed) be duely kept, for taking a strict account of all strangers in your Country, which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those who come from abroad to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized-upon, especially if care be taken to secure all those who cannot give a good account of their business; and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. Herein we do require, and shall expect, your effectual endeavours; knowing that, if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance of such dangerous designs as these would be frustrated in the birth[1] or kept from growing to maturity. I rest,

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[1] Thanked by the Parliament (*Commons Journals*, vi. 49, 10th October 1648).

[2] [" Wilde " in Mrs. Warner's copy, followed by Carlyle.]

[3] [" resolution," *ibid.*]

Your very affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.*

This second Letter, to the Gloucester Authorities, on the same subject, we judge by the style of it to be mostly or altogether the Protector's own.

For Major Wade, Major Creed, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Gloucester

Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

GENTLEMEN,

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection; so that, as we have certain intelligence from all parts, the risings are everywhere suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and daily more are discovered and secured. And we hope that, through the blessing of God upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole design.

The readiness of the honest people to appear hath been a great encouragement to us, and of no less discouragement to the Enemy; who, had he prevailed, would, without doubt, have made us the most miserable and harassed nation in the world; and therefore we hold ourselves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your zeal and forwardness in so readily appearing and contributing your assistance; wherein, although your country and your own particular as to outward and inward happiness were concerned, yet we are fully persuaded that a more general principle respecting the glory of God, and the good of all these nations, hath been the motive to incite you: and therefore your action[2] goes upon the higher and more noble account.

You have desired that we would consider of ways how to find money to carry-on this work. If the business had not been allayed, we must have found out a way and means to supply[1] that want; but otherwise indeed we make it, as we hope we ever shall, our design to ease this Nation, and not to burden it; and are tender, as we conceive yourselves have been, of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge. And therefore, as you shall have fitting opportunity, you may recommend our thankfulness to your honest willing countrymen, as we hereby do to yourselves, for this their forwardness; and to let them know that when any danger shall approach, as we shall be watchful to observe the Enemy's stirrings, we will give you timely notice thereof: and we trust those good hearts will be ready, being called out by you, to appear upon all such occasions. In the mean time they may continue at their home, blessing God for His mercy, and enjoying the fruit and comfort of this happy deliverance, and the other benefits of Peace.

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[1] [" their bud," in Mrs. Warner's copy, followed by Carlyle.]

[2] [" account," in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis.*]

* Rebecca Warner's *Epistolary Curiosities:* First Series (Bath, 1818), pp. 51-3. [But now printed as in the original amongst the *Lechmere MSS.* (see *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 300). The date *is* March 24. There is a similar letter to Northumberland, also dated March 24, in *Perfect Proceedings*, 19-26 April, 1655 (E. 833.15), and to Bedfordshire in *State Papers*, same date.]

And I do hereby let you know that letters are directed to the Justices of Peace of the several counties,[2] that diligent[3] watches be kept, such as the Law hath appointed, for taking a strict account of all strangers, especially near the coast, which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that come from abroad 'in order' to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized, especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account; and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And indeed if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance[4] of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in the birth, or kept from growing to maturity.

Having said this, with remembrance of my hearty love unto you, I rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.*

Of the same date, the same Letter (with insignificant variations), bearing the address, *For Colonel Humphrey Brewster and the rest of the Commissioners for the Militia for the County of Suffolk*, and dated as well as signed in Oliver's hand, is now in the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge, a kinsman or representative of this Humphrey Brewster.[1]

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[1] ["allay," in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, followed by Carlyle.]

[2] Foregoing Letter, To Wilde, for one.

[3] [This word omitted in *Bib. Glouc.*]

[4] ["continuance," *ibid.*]

* *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* (Gloucester, 1825;—see *antea*, vol. i. p. 152), p. 412:—from the City Records of Gloucester. [Printed in Appendix 9 of the *Twelfth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 509.]

The one considerable variation is as follows. Paragraph second, of the Copy given here, and the first two sentences of paragraph third, are suppressed in Brewster's Copy, and there stands instead,—after 'Design:' 'And now forasmuch as it hath pleased God thus to allay 'this Business; and making it, as we hope we soon (*sic*) shall, our 'design to ease this Nation:' &c.—after and before which the two Copies almost exactly correspond. (MS. *penes me.*)

By the City Records just cited from, it appears that, on the eve of the Battle of Worcester, in 1651, 'Eighteen Gloucester Bakers had 'sent to Tewkesbury for the Lord General Cromwell's Army, Thirteen-'hundred and odd Dozens of Bread at a Shilling the dozen, amounting 'to £66 5s.; and that the Mayor and others, on the 1st September '1651, sent Forty barrels of strong Beer to the Lord General, "praying 'your favourable acceptance thereof, as an argument of the good affection 'of this Corporation, who doth congratulate your seasonable coming 'into these parts, for the relief thereof against the violence of the 'common Enemy, and wish prosperous success to you and your Army".'[2]

Furthermore, that on the 11th October 1651, directly after the said Battle, Gloucester did itself the honour of appointing the Lord General Oliver Cromwell, 'in consideration of the singular favour and benevolence which his Excellency hath manifested to us and to this City,' High Steward of the same, 'with an annual rent of 100 shillings, issuing out of our Manors;'—for at least one payment of which there exists the Lord General's receipt, in this form:

23 Novemb 1652.

Recd of the Maior and Burg of Glouc^{r} by the hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City, the day and year aboves^{d} the some of ffive pounds as being a fee due to me as Lord High Steward of the said Citty, I say Recd . . .	*£ s. d.* 05 00 00

O. Cromwell.[*]

7. The following brief note to the Poet Waller, which has latterly turned up, has a certain peculiar interest, on two grounds; *first* to all readers, as offering some momentary glimpse, momentary but unique and indisputable, of Oliver's feeling on reading the Poet's noble *Panegyric to my Lord Protector* and *secondly* to antiquarian people, as fixing what

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[1] [There is a similar letter amongst the State Papers, addressed to Sir Thos. Honeywood, Col. Cooke, Dudley Templar, Major Haynes, and the rest of the Militia Commissioners of Essex (*S. P. Dom. Interregnum* I., 76 A. pp. 34, 35).]

[2] *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 406. [And in the Report above mentioned, p. 505.]

[*] *Ibid.* p. 411.

was hitherto left vague, the approximate date of that celebrated piece.[1] To an audacious guesser, it might almost seem, these verses had reached Oliver by messenger, a day or two before; and the 'unhappy mistake' were Oliver's in sending, on the morrow, to have an interview with Waller, and finding him to be at Northampton instead!—

For my very loving Friend Edmund[2] *Waller, Esq., Northampton: Haste, haste*

'Whitehall,' 13th June 1655.

SIR,

Let it not trouble you that, by so unhappy a mistake, you are, as I hear, at Northampton. Indeed I am passionately affected with it.

I have no guilt upon me unless it be to be avenged for you so willingly mistaking me in your verses.[3] This action 'of mine' will put you to redeem me from yourself, as you have already from the world. Ashamed, I am, your friend and servant,

OLIVER P.*

8. and 9. Two poor American scraps, which our New-England friends ought to make more lucent for us; worth their paper and ink in this place.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the President, Assistants and Inhabitants of Rhode Island, together with the rest of the Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New England

'Whitehall,' 29th March 1655.

GENTLEMEN,

Your Agent here hath presented unto us some particulars concerning your Government, which you judge necessary to be settled by us here. But by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this Commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity.

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[1] Fenton, *Works of Edmund Waller* (London, 1730) gives the *Panegyric* (pp. 113-121); and (*ibid.* p. civ.) his note upon it, in which all he can say as to date is, 'about the year 1654'.

[2] Copy has "Edward," as yet.

[3] Fenton's *Waller*, pp. 113 and cix.

* In the Waller archives, Beaconsfield; copied by a 'Rev. L. B. Larking,' cousin of the now Waller;—printed in *Notes and Queries* newspaper, 2nd January 1858. (*Note of* 1869).

In the mean time we were willing to let you know, that you are to proceed in your Government according to the tenor of your Charter formerly granted on that behalf; taking care of the peace and safety of these Plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonour to this Commonwealth or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things which are before us, they shall, as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a just and fitting determination.

And so we bid you farewell; and rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

Towards the end of the Dutch War, during that undefinable relation with France, 'hostile rather than neutral,' which did not end in Treaty till October 1655,[1] Oliver's Major Sedgwick, whom we have since known in Jamaica, had laid hold of certain 'French Forts,' and indeed of a whole French region, the region now called *Nova Scotia*, then called *Acadie;* of which Forts and of the region they command, it is Oliver's purpose, for the behoof of his New-Englanders, to retain possession;[2] —as the following small document will testify:

To Captain John Leverett, Commander of the Forts lately taken from the French in America

WE have received an account from Major Sedgwick of his taking several Forts from the French in America, and that he hath left you to command and secure them for Us and this Commonwealth: And although We make no doubt of your fidelity and diligence in performance of your trust, yet We have thought it necessary to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts abovesaid, as also to improve the regaining of them into Our hands to the advantage of Us and this State, by such ways and means as you shall judge conducible thereunto. And as We shall understand from you the state and condition of those places, We shall from time to time give such directions as shall be necessary.

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* Original in the Rhode-Island Archives: Printed in Hutchinson's *Collection*, and elsewhere. [Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd series, vol. vii. p. 80.]

[1] Thurloe, iv. 75.

[2] In Bancroft's *History of the United States* (Boston, 1837), i. 445, is some faint and not very exact notice of the affair.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d of April 1655.

OLIVER P.*

To which there are now, from this side of the Water, the following excerpts to be added:

Grant of Privy Seal: '6th June 1655, To Major Robert Sedgwick, £1,793. 7*s.* 8*d.*, in full of his Account for service done against the 'French.' And

Ditto, '28th July 1656, to Captain John Leverett, £4,482. 3*s.* 11½*d.* 'in full satisfaction of all sums of money due to him upon Account of 'his receipts and disbursements about the forts taken from the French 'in America, and of his Salary for 760 days, at 15*s.* *per diem.*'[1]

Oliver kept his Forts and his *Acadie,* through all French Treaties, for behoof of his New-Englanders: not till after the Restoration did the country become French again, and continue such for a century or so.

10. Is a small domestic matter:

For Colonel Alban Cox, in Hertfordshire

Whitehall, 24th April 1655.

SIR,

Having occasion to speak with you upon some affairs relating to the public, I would have you, as soon as this comes to your hands, to repair up hither; and upon your coming, you shall be acquainted with the particular reasons of my sending for you.

I rest, your loving friend,

OLIVER P.†

At Blackdown House in Sussex, now and for long past the residence of a family named Yaldwin, are preserved two Letters Patent signed 'Oliver P.,' of date 3d December 1656, appointing 'William Yaldwin Esq.' High Sheriff of Sussex. Printed in Dallaway's *Rape of Arundel* (p. 363); need not be reprinted here.[2]

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* Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Printed in their *Third Series*, vii. 121.——In Vol. ii. of the same Work (Boston, 1820), pp. 323-364, is an elaborate Notice of certain fragmentary *MS. Records of the Long Parliament* still extant at New York,—which Notice ought to be cancelled in subsequent editions! The amazingly curious 'Records' at New York turn out to be nothing but some odd volumes of the *Commons Journals* of that period; the entire Set of which, often enough copied in *manuscript*, was *printed* here about fifty years ago, and is very common indeed, in the Butter-shops and elsewhere!

† *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1788), lviii. 379.

[1] *Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1843), Appendix ii. p. 192; Fifth Report (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 260.

[2] [This group had originally only seven letters in it. Those to Lenthall (now Nos. 3 and 4) were added in 1857, and that to Waller (No. 7) in 1869.]

No. 29

[Vol. ii. p. 464.]

SUFFOLK MILITIA TROOP[1]

THE Suffolk Commission for a select mounted County-Militia, still remains; one remaining out of many that have perished. Addressed to the Humphrey Brewster whom we have occasionally met with before.[2]

Instructions unto Colonel Humphrey Brewster, commissionated by his Highness the Lord Protector to be Captain of a Troop of Horse to be raised within the County of Suffolk, for the service of his Highness and the Commonwealth

1. You shall forthwith raise, enlist, and have in readiness under your command as Captain, and such Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master as his Highness shall commissionate for that purpose, one-hundred able Soldiers, the three Corporals included, well mounted for service, and armed with one good sword and case of pistols, holsters, saddle, bridle, and other furniture fit for war, to serve as a Troop of Horse in the service of the Commonwealth, as is hereafter required.

2. You shall use your utmost endeavour that the said troops[3] shall be men of good life and conversation; and before their being listed shall promise that they will be true and faithful to his Highness the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, against all who shall design or attempt any thing against his Highness's Person, or endeavour to disturb the public Peace. And the like engagement shall be taken by the Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master of the said Troop.

3. You shall be ready to draw forth and muster the said Troop, armed and fitted as aforesaid, upon the 25th day of December next ensuing, from which time the said Troop, Officers and Soldiers, shall be deemed to be in the actual service of his Highness and the Commonwealth, and be paid accordingly. And you shall also draw forth the said Troops[3] four times in every year within the county of Suffolk, completely furnished as before mentioned, to be raised and mustered by such persons as shall from time to time be appointed by the Protector.

4. You shall also at all other times have the said Troops[3] in all readiness as aforesaid at forty-eight hours' warning, or sooner if it may be,

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[1] ["Suffolk Yeomanry," Carlyle called it.]

[2] *Antea*, p. 297.

[3] [Probably should be "troop".]

whensoever his Highness, or such as he shall appoint for that purpose, shall require the same for the suppressing of any invasion, rebellion, insurrection, or tumult, or performing of any other service within England and Wales. And in case that any of the said service shall continue above the space of twenty-eight days in one year, the said Officers and Soldiers shall, after the expiration of the said twenty-eight days, be paid according to the establishment of the Army then in force, over and besides what is agreed to be paid unto them by these presents, for so long as they shall continue in the said service.

5. That in case any shall make default in appearance, without just and sufficient cause, or shall not be mounted, armed and provided as aforesaid, or shall offend against good manners or the laws of war; that every person so offending shall be liable to such punishment as the Captain or chief Officer present with the Troops, with advice of the persons appointed to take the said musters, shall think fit: provided the said punishment extends no further than loss of place or one year's pay.

6. That in consideration of the service to be performed as aforesaid, you shall receive for the use of the said Troop the sum of one-thousand pounds per annum, to be paid out of the public revenue by quarterly payments, to be distributed according to the proportions following: To yourself, as Captain, one-hundred pounds per annum; to the Lieutenant fifty pounds per annum; to the Cornet twenty-five pounds per annum; to the Quarter-Master thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence per annum; to each of the three Corporals, two pounds 'additional' per annum; one Trumpet, five pounds six shillings and four-pence per annum; and to each Soldier eight pounds per annum.

OLIVER P.*

Whitehall, 26th October 1655.

No. 30

TITLE OF KING ERASED. SPEECH SHOULD-BE 'XV'

[Vol. iii. p. 130.]

FINAL Speech on that matter of the Kingship (concerning *which* it is gracefully altogether silent); that is to say, Speech on *accepting* the Humble Petition and Advice, with the Title of King withdrawn, and that of Protector substituted as he had required: Painted Chamber, Monday, 25th May 1657.[1]

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* In the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge; a descendant of Brewster's.

Mr. Speaker,—I desire to offer a word or two unto you; which shall be but a word. I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this day, that I came not as to a triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks that ever was laid upon the back of [2] human creature. And I make no question but you will, and so will all men, readily agree with me that without the support of the Almighty I shall necessarily sink under the burden of it; not only with shame and reproach to myself, but with that that is more a thousand times, and in comparison of which I and my family are not worthy to be mentioned,—with the loss and prejudice of these three Nations. And, that being so, I must ask your help, and the help of all those that fear God, that by their prayers I may receive assistance from the hand of God. His presence, going alone, will enable [3] to the discharge of so great a duty and trust as this is; and nothing else 'will.' [4]

Howbeit, I have some other things to desire of you, I mean of the Parliament:—That seeing this is but, as it were, an introduction to the carrying-on of the government of these Nations, and forasmuch as there are many things which cannot be supplied, for the enabling [5] to the carrying-on of this work, without your help and assistance, I think it is my duty to ask your help in them. Not that I doubted [6] for I believe the same spirit that hath led you to this will easily suggest the rest to you. The truth is, and I can say 'it' in the presence of God, that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken this insupportable burden to flesh and blood, had it not been that I have seen in this Parliament all along a care of doing all those things that might truly and really answer the ends that we have been engaged [7] for: you have satisfied [8] your forwardness and readiness therein very fully already.

I thought it my duty, when your Committee, which you were pleased to send to me [lately came] [9] to give the grounds and reasons of your proceedings, to help[1] my conscience and judgment,—I was then bold to offer to them several considerations: which were received by them, and have been presented to you. In answer to which, the Committee did bring me several resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired; and therefore, though I cannot doubt it, yet I thought it my duty to ask it of you, that there may be a perfecting of those things. Indeed, as I said before, I have my witness in the sight of God, that nothing would have been an argument to me, how desirable soever great places may seem to be to other men; I say nothing would have been an argument to me to have undertaken this; but, as I said before, I saw such things determined by you as makes clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and for the liberty and interest and preservation of all such as fear God,—of all that fear God under various forms.[2] And if God make not those Nations thankful[3] to you for your care therein, it will fall as fire[4] on their heads. And therefore I say, that hath been one main encouragement.

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[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 539, 537 (last entry there).

[2] ["any," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[3] ["enable me," *Parl. History.*]

[4] [*Ibid.*, only, has the "will."]

[5] ["enabling me," *ibid.*]

[6] ["not that I doubt," *Portland MS.*, *Add. MS.* 6125, and Thurloe.]

[7] ["that have been engaged," *Commons Journals*, but as here in all the other texts.]

[8] Query, testified? [The *Clarke* and *Portland MSS. have* "testified." *Parl. History* and Thurloe have "satisfied me of."]

[9] [*Public Intelligencer.*]

I confess there are other things that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing of vice, to the encouragement of good men and virtue, and the completing of those things also,—concerning some of which you have not yet resolved anything; save to let me know by your Committee that you would not be wanting in anything for the good[5] of these Nations. Nor do I speak it as in the least doubting it; but I do earnestly and heartily desire, to the end God may crown your work and bless you and this Government, that in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided for.*

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[1] [As here, *Commons Journals* and *Portland MS.*; "to help to inform," *Parl. History* and Thurloe; "to satisfy," *Clarke MS.*; "according to my," *Add. MS.* 6125.]

[2] ["under their various forms," *Clarke MS.* and Thurloe.]

[3] ["as thankful," *ibid.*]

[4] ["as a sin," *Commons Journals*; but *Portland MS.*, Thurloe and *Parl. History* all have "fire."]

[5] ["that might make for the good," *Public Intelligencer.*]

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 539-40. [Also *Portland MSS.* (Nalson, xvi. 142 b.) *Add. MS.* 6125; *Clarke MSS.* (xxix. 75 b.); Thurloe, vi. 309; *Old Parl. History*, xxi. pp. 142, 144. ; and the substance given in *Mercurius Politicus* and *Public Intelligencer* (E. 503, 8, 11). The writer of a newsletter says, "The Speaker let his Highness know that the Parliament by him again presented those papers relating to the Government, with the alteration of that paragraph concerning the title, together with their reports circumstantiating the same, wherein the Parliament humbly expected and desired his Highness' consent, and the same being read, his Highness expressed himself in this manner, 'I consent, I consent,' which the Clerk of Parlia-

No. 31

From 1657. Last Royalist Plot

[Vol. iii. p. 186.]

1. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Convocation of our University of Oxford*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Amongst the many parts of that Government which is entrusted to us, we do look upon the Universities as meriting very much of our care and thoughts: And finding that the place of Chancellor of our University of Oxford is at present in Ourself; and withal judging that the continuance thereof in our hands may not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs,—

We have therefore thought fit to resign the said Office, as we hereby do; and to leave you at freedom to elect some such other person thereunto, as you shall conceive meet for the execution thereof. —

Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you do proceed to the election of a Chancellor with your first conveniency; not doubting but you will, in your choice, have a just regard to the advancement and encouragement of piety and learning, and to the continuing and further settling of good order and government amongst you; which you may easily find yourselves obliged to have principally in your consideration and design, whether you respect the University itself, or the good of the Commonwealth upon which it hath so great an influence. And although our relation to you may by this means in some sort be changed, yet you may be confident we shall still retain a real affection to you, and be ready upon all occasions to seek and promote your good.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d day of July 1657.*

ment writ upon the Bill in these words, 'the Protector consenteth,' and read it. And after a little pause, his Highness made a short speech, showing that he came not thither in triumph when he considered how great and insupportable weight he set his shoulder to in this work, and such as he must inevitably sink under if the Lord should not by an extraordinary power support him. He also implored their help (who represented the people) further to advise and consult upon such things as might tend to consummate and firmly establish that great work, not doubting of the same, with many emphatical expressions." *Clarke Papers*, iii. 112.]

* Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss. [Entry in the Statute-book.]

2. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of our Town of Oswestry: These*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—We, being informed that the Free School of our Town of Oswestry is now void of a head school master settled there, by reason of the delinquency and ejection of Edward Paine late school master thereof, have thought fit to recommend unto you Mr. John Evans, the son of Matthew Evans late of Penegoes in the county of Montgomery, as a fit person, both for piety and learning, to be head school master of the said school; and That, so far as in you lies,[1] the said Mr. Evans may be forthwith settled and invested there accordingly; which Act of yours we shall be ready to confirm, if it be adjudged requisite and proper for us. And not doubting of the performance of this our pleasure, we commit you to God, and rest.

Given at Whitehall, this 13th day of July 1657.*

3. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Gloucester: These*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—We greet you well. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us to blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design upon your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby, to put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia by virtue of the Commissions[2] formerly sent you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid; letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your Town.

We desire you to let us hear from you from time to time what occurs to you touching the Malignant party: and so we bid you farewell.

Whitehall, this 2d of December 1657.†

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[1] [Carlyle misread this "as in yourselves," and had to add "is" to make sense.]

[2] [Carlyle printed "your commissioners."]

* *Endowed Grammar Schools*, by N. Carlisle (London, 1818), ii. 369, Art. *Salop.* [*Endorsed* "This letter was received the 9th of September, 1657.]

† City Records of Gloucester (in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 419). [And Appendix 9, *Twelfth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 515, where also is the answer to the letter.]

A Paper of the same date, of precisely the same purport, directed to the Authorities at Bristol, has come to us; another out of many then sent: but of course only one, if even one, requires to be inserted here.

4. Letter written directly on dissolving the Parliament; probably one of many, to the like effect, despatched that day:

For Colonel Cox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our County of Hertford: These. For our special service

To be left with the Postmaster of St. Albans: to be speedily sent

Whitehall, 4th February 1657.

SIR,

By our last letters to you, we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier party, who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad; and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace, and apprehending all dangerous persons.

Our intelligence of that kind still continues; and we are more assured of their resolutions to put in execution their designs aforesaid within a very short time; 'they' being much encouraged from some late actings of some turbulent and unquiet spirits, as well in this Town as elsewhere, and who, to frustrate and render vain and fruitless all those good hopes of settlement which we had conceived from the proceedings of Parliament before their adjournment in June last, framed a treasonable petition to the House of Commons, by the name of the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England;" designing thereby not only the overthrow of the late *Petition and Advice* of the Parliament, but of all that hath been done these seven years; hoping thereby to bring all things into confusion; and were in a very tumultuous manner procuring subscriptions thereunto, giving out that they were encouraged to it by some Members of the House of Commons.

And the truth is, the debates that have been in that House since their last meeting have had their tendency to the stirring-up and cherishing of such humours;—having done nothing in fourteen days but debated whether they should own the Government of these Nations, as it is contained in the *Petition and Advice*, which the Parliament at their former sitting had invited us to accept of, and had sworn us unto; and they themselves also having taken an Oath upon it before they went into the House. And we, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this Nation, and to the loosening all the bonds of Government; and being hopeless of obtaining supplies of money, for answering the exigencies of the Nation, from such men as are not satisfied with the foundation we stand upon; we thought it of absolute necessity to dissolve this present Parliament; which I have done this day: And to give you notice thereof; that you, with your Troop, may be most viligant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever. And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable petition, that you apprehend them, and give an account thereof to us forthwith. And we do further let you know, That we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and Troop; and to assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay. And I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

5. *For the Commanders of the Militia of the City of Gloucester: These*

Whitehall, 11th March 1657.

GENTLEMEN,

We are informed that the Enemy from Flanders intend to invade us very suddenly, and to that purpose have twenty-two ships of war ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are preparing others also which they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be put on board them. And at the same time an Insurrection is intended in this nation, and the time for the executing these designs is intended by them to be very sudden.

We have therefore thought fit to give you notice hereof; and to signify to you our pleasure, that you put yourselves into the best posture you can for the securing the City of Gloucester, and to put the arms into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Commonwealth. We desire you to be very careful, and to let us hear from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall do in pursuance of this letter.

I rest,

Your very assured friend,

OLIVER P.†

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* *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1788), lviii. 313. [Communicated by "T. C.," perhaps a descendant of Col. Alban Cox. He notes that the Colonel then lived at Beaumonts, a farm little more than a mile from St. Albans. On Col. Cox, see Kingston's *Hertfordshire during the Civil War*, pp. 141-3 (1894). The later editions of Carlyle gave the name as "Fox," by mistake.]

† City Records of Gloucester (in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 421). [*Report* as mentioned above, p. 516. The answer is there also.]

No. 32

[Vol. iii. p. 204.]

Two Mandates to Cambridge University

1. That John Castle be made Master of Arts :

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—Whereas by our appointment several students in our University of Cambridge have been invited abroad to preach the Gospel in our Fleet, and for their encouragement have been by us assured that they should not suffer any prejudice in the University by reason of their absence in the said service : And whereas a petition hath been exhibited on the behalf of Mr. John Castle of Trinity College, showing that whilst he was abroad as minister in the *Newcastle* Frigate, he was disappointed of taking his degree of Master of Arts (as by course he ought), and that he cannot now, since his return, commence without the loss of one year's seniority, by reason of a statute of the University denying degrees to any non-resident :

In performance of our said promise, and for the future encouragement of others in the like service, We do hereby signify unto you, that it is our will and pleasure that the said John Castle be by you created Master of Arts, and allowed the same seniority which, according to the custom of your University, he had enjoyed had he been resident at the usual time of taking degrees.

Given at Whitehall, the 22d day of June 1658.*

Castle, the Books indicate, had entered Trinity at the same time, and been under the same Tutor, with a very famous person, '*John Driden Northampt. admissus Pens.*'—both, namely, were admitted 'Pensioners,' in Sept. 1649.

2. That Benjamin Rogers be made Bachelor of Music,—'a Form of Oliver Cromwell's Mandats,' says Baker, who has excerpted this one.

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* Cambridge Archives, 'Grace-Book H. p. 181.' Communicated by Rev. J. Edleston, Fellow of Trinity College.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Whereas we are informed that you cannot, by the statutes and according to the customs of your University, admit any to the degree of Bachelor of Music unless he had been some years before admitted in a college: And whereas we are also certified that Benjamin Rogers hath attained to eminency of skill in that faculty:—We, willing to give all encouragement to the studies and abilities of men in that or any other ingenuous faculty, have thought fit to declare our will and pleasure, by these our letters, that, notwithstanding your statutes and customs, you cause Benjamin Rogers to be admitted and created Bachelor in Music, in some one or more of your congregations assembled in that our University; he paying such dues as are belonging to that degree, and giving some proof of his accomplishments and skill in music. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall, the 28th day of May 1658.*

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* Copy in *Harl. MSS.* No. 7053, f. 152 (*Baker MSS.* x. 373);—and as before, in 'Grace-Book H. p. 180.'— —The Originals will never turn up. In the same Register of 'Graces,' or Decrees of Senate, is one (of date 1661) for *burning* whatsoever Mandates or Missives there are from Cromwell: whereby doubtless the Originals (with small damage to *them*, and some satisfaction to the Heads of Houses) were destroyed.

SUPPLEMENT

LETTERS AND SPEECHES NOT PRINTED BY CARLYLE[1]

1

(BEFORE LETTER I)

AMONGST the *Newdigate MSS.* at Arbury, co. Warwick, is a letter of Cromwell's, written in 1631, just before he left Huntingdon, and therefore earlier than any we have except that to Downing, Appendix, No. 1. The letter is interesting as showing Cromwell's sympathy for sport.

To John Newdigate

Huntingdon, April 1, 1631.[2]

SIR,

I must with all thankfulnesse acknowledge the curtesye you have intended me in keeping this hawk soe long, to your noe small trouble, and although I have noe interest in hir, yet if ever it fall in my way, I shalbe ready to doe you service in the like or any other kinde. I doe confesse I have neglected you in that I have received two letters from you without sending you any answer, but I trust you will pass by it, and accept of my true and reasonable excuse. This poore man, the owner of the hawke, who, living in the same towne with me, made use of my varvells, I did daly expect to have sooner returned from his journey then he did, which was the cause whie I protracted time, and deferred to send unto you, until I might make him the messinger, whoe was best able to give an account, as also fittest to fetch hir, I myself being utterly destitute of a falconer att the present, and not having any man whom I durst venture to carrie a hawke of that kinde soe farre. This is all I can apologise. I beseech you, command me, and I shall rest, your servant,

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[1] The spelling of these letters is modernised, in conformity with the plan adopted by Carlyle, but the first is left in its original form as a specimen of Cromwell's spelling, which, it will be seen, was very good.

[2] Cromwell always dated his letters at the end, in accordance with the almost universal custom of the day (except in the case of certain official documents); but the dates are here put at the top for the sake of uniformity with the rest of the letters. Carlyle no doubt adopted the plan because it is more convenient for reference.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Postscript. "My cousin Cromwell of Gray's Inn was the first that told me of hir." *

Endorsed by Richard Newdigate: "Oliver Cromwell, that wicked successfull rebel, his letter to my uncle, J. N. No business but aboute hawkes, but I keep it to shew his hand and stile."

"Varvells" were small rings attached to the jesses of a hawk, and usually bearing the owner's name. If the varvels had Cromwell's name on them, the hawk would naturally be supposed to belong to him.

2

(BEFORE LETTER IV)

To Captain Vernon

1642, December 17.—Desiring him to pay the money due to him and his troop—according to his Excellency's warrant—to the bearer, George Barton, his servant. With Barton's receipt for 204*l.* 13*s.* †

3

(AFTER LETTER V)

WRITTEN on the same date as the postscript of John Cory's letter (vol. i. p. 124). Cory mentions Capt. Rich as being with Cromwell's troops at the taking of Lowestoft.

To the Chief Constables of the Hundred of Holt (*co. Norfolk*)

March 20, 1642[-3].

Desiring them to give warning to all such in their Hundred as found (*sic*) cuirassiers under the command of Sir William Paston, Bart., to appear at Thetford on Monday the 27th inst., completed, to march away under command of Capt. Robert Rich, for the defence of their country. *Signed.* ‡

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* Printed by Lady Newdigate-Newdegate in *Cavalier and Puritan* (p. 5).

† *Webster MSS.* See *Third Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 420. Also *Notes and Queries*, series 2, part xii. p. 285.

‡ Original amongst the MSS. of the Earl of Leicester; calendared in the *Ninth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix 2, p. 367.

4

(WITH LETTER XIV)

THE three following letters were written just after the skirmish near Gainsborough, when Cromwell was anxiously struggling to strengthen the position of the Eastern Counties, threatened by the advancing Royalists.

(1) *For my Loving Friends the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Essex*

Huntington, August 1st, 1643.

GENTLEMEN,

The time I was absent from Nottingham, this bearer was forced to borrow of the Mayor of Nottingham 100*l.* for the payment of the three companies belonging to your counties, besides shoes, stockings, shirts and billet-money, which I promised should be repaid. I receiving no money out of your counties wherewithal to do it, I can but refer it to your considerations, for I think it is not expected that I should pay your soldiers out of my own purse. This is the sum of his desire who rests

Your truly loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

I desire you would recruit your two companies and send them up with as much haste as may be, that they may help on in the public service.*

(2) *To my Honoured Friends the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Essex: Present these*

August 4th, 1643.

GENTLEMEN,

I being at Cambridge, and meeting there with some moneys which came from you, some doubt was made whether that money was intended to be your proportion of the 3,000*l.* assigned me by the House of Commons towards the payment of my troops. If it be in pursuance of their order, I beseech you send word. Your letters make it clear to me, but yet because doubt is made thereof, none being able to resolve it better than you, I should be very glad to have it from yourselves; and rest

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* *Barrington Papers*, *Egerton MS.* 2643, p. 11. Calendared in the Appendix to the *Seventh Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners* (p. 557), when the *Barrington MSS.* were in the possession of G. A. Lowndes, Esq. Signed only by Cromwell.

Your humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell.*

Underwritten, letters from William Harlackenden and Miles Corbett to the same, the former urging them to send moneys, and the latter desiring them to recruit the companies and send back runaways.

It would appear from this letter that some attempt had been made to take the money which Cromwell believed to be meant for his regiment, and divert it to some other purpose; perhaps to pay for the clothes, etc., of the foot companies mentioned in the previous letters.

(3) *To the Deputy Lieutenants of Essex: These, haste, haste, posthaste*

August 6th, eleven of the clock, 1643.

Gentlemen,

You see by this enclosed, the necessity of going out of our old pace. You sent indeed your part of the 2,000 foot, but when they came, they as soon returned. Is this the way to save a kingdom? Where is the doctrine of some of your county concerning the trained bands and other forces not going out the Association?

I wish your forces may be ready to meet with the enemy when he is in the Association. Haste what you can; not your part only of 2,000 foot, but I hope 2,000 foot at least. Lord Newcastle will advance into your bowels.[1] Better join when others will join and can join with you, than stay till all be lost; hasten to our help. The enemy in all probability will be in our bowels else in ten days; his army is powerful. See your men come, and some of your gentlemen and ministers come along with them, that so they may be delivered over to those shall command them; otherwise they will return at pleasure. If we have them at our army we can keep them.

From your faithful servant,
Oliver Cromwell. †

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* *Barrington Papers*, *Egerton MS*. 2643, p. 15. Calendared *ut supra*.

† *Ibid*. p. 17. Printed *ut supra*, p. 558. This was one of the letters sent by Cromwell to Cambridge to be forwarded, as mentioned in Letter XIV. There are many letters among the *Barrington MSS*. on this subject.

[1] Compare Letter XII., to the Committee of the county of Suffolk.

5

(After Letter XVIII)

Written a few days before Winceby fight.

To Sir Thomas Barrington *

Boston, October 6th, 1643.

Sir,

It is against my will to be too troublesome to my friends. I had rather suffer under some extremities, were it my particular; but that which I have to offer concerns those honest men under my command, who have been, who are in straits; if want of clothes, boots, money to fix their arms, to shoe their horses be considerable, such are theirs not in an easy degree, truly above what is fit for the state to suffer. Sir, many may complain they are many weeks behind of pay, many who can plunder and pillage, they suffer no want. But truly mine (though some have stigmatised them with the name of Anabaptists), are honest men, such as fear God, I am confident the freest from unjust practices of any in England, seek the soldiers where you can. Such imputations are poor requitals to those who have ventured their blood for you. I hear there are such mists cast to darken their services. Take no care for me, I ask your good acceptance, let me have your prayers, I will thank you; truly I count not myself worthy to be employed by God; but for my poor men, help them what you can, for they are faithful. The last ordinance hath provided for me, but paper pays not, if not executed. I beg your furtherance herein. Sir, know you have none will more readily be commanded by you, than your cousin and humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.†

6

(With Letters XIX-XXIII)

In the collection of papers at the Public Record Office, known as the *Commonwealth Exchequer Papers*, there are several short letters of Cromwell's, addressed to officials of the Eastern Counties Association, either at Cambridge or Ely, during the twelvemonth Jan. 1644—Jan. 1645.

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* Deputy Lieutenant for co. Essex.

† Holograph. In the Morrison Collection. *Endorsed* "No. 1." See note, vol. i. p. 411, above.

(1) *To my very noble friends the Committees of the Isle of Ely: Present these*

[Ely], Jan. 10, 1643 [-4].

GENTLEMEN,

There is a boat framing for the defence of these parts; I believe its of consequence; I therefore desire you to let the officer that directs the framing of it to have twenty marks for the perfecting of it, and I shall rest,

Your true servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

With note that Lieut. Thomas Selby was accordingly paid 13*l.*

Mr. Firth suggests that this may be the Capt. Selby afterwards of Fleetwood's regiment, who was killed at Naseby. This letter was written on the same day as that to Mr. Hitch (Letter XIX).

(2) *To Mr. Robert Browne, Deputy Treasurer for the Isle of Ely*

[Cambridge], April 11, 1644.

MR. BROWNE,

What monies you have in hands of the last three months' tax I desire you to pay to Lieut. Bolton, to Captain West's uses for the payment of his company, which I now order him to receive upon account. If you have not so much, yet let him have what is in your hands. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand the day and year above written.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Signed also by William Marche and Miles Sandys.

Capt. Nicholas West and Lieut. Roger Bolton were officers of a company stationed at the Hermitage, in the Isle of Ely.

(3) [*To Dr. Richard Stane, at Ely*]

[Cambridge], April 13, 1644.

DR. STANE,

I do hereby require you to pay my wife 5*l.* a week to bear the extraordinary charges. This shall be your warrant. Take her hand in your notes.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Signed also by Marche and Sandys.

This order is mentioned in a statement made by an antagonist of Cromwell's, printed at the end of "The quarrel of the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell" (*Camden Society*). "I saw at Ely, upon the file of letters to that Committee, a letter from Col. Cromwell to them that they should pay his wife 5*l.* per week towards her extraordinaries, which hath been duly paid her a great while. I am sure there is no ordinance of Parliament for that."

The order is evidently an authorisation by Cromwell for payments out of moneys due to himself, and from the statement above, and from the fact (shown by Marche's and Sandy's signatures) that it was written at Cambridge, it is plain that it was directed to Richard Stane, treasurer for the island of Ely, not to the better known William Stane mentioned below. He would appear to be the "Doctor Richard Stand" with whom Elizabeth Cromwell afterwards lived. See Appendix No. 23.

(4) *For Dr. William Staines at Cambridge: These*

Jan. 6 [1644-5].

DR. STAINES,

I desire you to do me the favour to let this bearer have five pounds of my money for his captain, Capt. Coleman. His want is great, and I should be loath he should be sent away to him empty. You must not fail me herein.

I rest, your very loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Underwritten. Request from W. Stane to Commissary-General Harlackenden for payment of the above, and order for payment, signed by the Earl of Manchester, Nath. Bacon and Bra. Gurdon, and dated Jan. 1644[-5].

Dr. William Staines (or Stane, as he always signs), afterwards one of the Commissaries-General of the army, was at this time acting as clerk to the Eastern Association Committee at Cambridge, but evidently with somewhat more authority than sometimes fell to such a position. Thus an appeal on behalf of a poor soldier who had been ill with smallpox is endorsed by him, "I have entered this poor fellow's bill. I conceive his necessities are great. I know not what is his due, yet you may be pleased to compassionate him." In one document he is called "auditor." He came into some prominence during the army proceedings of 1647, was appointed one of Fairfax's committee of officers in August of that year, and also a member of the committee to settle what was to be offered to the army at the rendezvous in the November following. John Lilburne abuses him hotly in a letter to Cromwell in this same year; "As for Dr. Stanes," he wrote, "whatever you may think of him, I aver he is a juggling knave" (*Jonah's cry out of the whale's belly*). Mrs. Hutchinson also disliked him (*Memoirs*, ii. 163).

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* Holograph.

Captain Coleman's name occurs in a list of payments to officers of the Eastern Association army in 1644, but without Christian name or regiment. There was a Capt. Henry Coleman in Holborne's foot regiment, and a Capt. William Coleman appears in the New Model, in Fleetwood's regiment of horse.

The curious point in this note is that Cromwell signs himself "Your loving father." The most likely explanation would appear to be that he was Stane's godfather, but it may only mean that he had influenced him in religious matters, and so considered himself his ghostly father.

(5) [*To the Committee at Cambridge?*]

London, Jan. 21, 164[4-5].

GENTLEMEN,

This soldier of mine (Mr. Frayne) is a man who on my knowledge hath very faithfully served you, his arrears are great, his sickness much and long, by occasion whereof he is brought to great lowness, and is much indebted. If now upon my recommendation of his person and condition unto you, you will please to help him with some competent sum of money to discharge his debt and relieve himself, I shall take it for a great favour, and be ready to repay such a respect with a thankful [acknow]ledgment, and ever [be]

Your real and faithful [servant],

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Underwritten. Warrant dated Jan. 24, for the payment of the money to "George Frane, trooper in Lieut.-General Cromwell's own troop," the 5*l.* to be charged upon the Lieut.-General's account. Noted as paid 25 January.*

7

(AFTER LETTER XXIII)

Without Address

1644, October 5. Requesting quarter for sick soldiers. *Signed.*†

II

THE two following letters were written when the troops of the Eastern Association, under Manchester, had been ordered to advance westward to the support of Waller, and to keep the King away from the fortresses near Oxford—orders which Manchester obeyed so slowly that the King managed to reach Newbury and relieve Banbury.

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* These letters have been printed by Mr. Firth in his *Raising of the Ironsides.*

† *S. P. Dom., Chas. I.*, vol. dxxxix., No. 227.

(1) *To Sir Samuel Luke*[1]

October 6, [1644].

NOBLE SIR,

I thank you for your letters. I have sent them both to the Earl of Manchester. I met here with a command to send me back again to intend this business at Banbury. I march that way this evening. We must still desire the continuance of your assistance in this business. I hope Sir, if you hear of the King's advancing near to these parts or to Oxford,[2] we shall have timely notice from you. It will behove us to be vigilant, because the King horseth his foot. Sir, no man is more yours than,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sir, I expect two of my troops, Capt. Horsman's and Capt. Porter's,[3] to come up to me. If you hear of them, I pray you send them up towards Banbury, I fear lest they should march towards Aylesbury.*

(2) *To Sir Samuel Luke*

[4] Siseham, October 8, 1644.

SIR,

I believe you are assured I take no pleasure in keeping your troop here. Its only for that end to which it was commanded hither at the first by the Committee of Both Kingdoms. I was very loath to detain it, and leave it wholly to yourself either to continue or dismiss it; only Col. Fiennes sent me word early this morning that about a thousand of the enemy's horse were gathering together about Evesham, and endeavouring to mount as many musketeers as they could; upon which, and to draw nearer to the rest of our horse, I have a rendezvous this morning at Sougrave.[1] Sir, not having more to trouble you, I rest,

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[1] Sir Samuel Luke was at this time Governor of Newport Pagnell.

[2] The King was at Sherburne. He left it on October 8, and advanced to Salisbury.

[3] Capt. Robert Horsman, formerly Governor of Rockingham Castle, was made captain of troop No. 7 in Cromwell's regiment in the spring of 1644, *vice* Capt. Robert Patterson.

Samuel Porter, of Essex, was captain of the ninth troop. They both left the regiment when it was taken into the New Model. See *Raising of the Ironsides.*

[4] Syresham, in Northamptonshire.

* Copy in Sir Samuel Luke's letter book, *Stowe MSS.*, vol. 190, f. 42 b.

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

I doubt the drawing away of your troop may occasion the Aylesbury troops to long to be going also.*

9

(AFTER LETTER XXIII)

To the Sequestrators of the Isle of Ely

London, January 17, 1644[-5].

GENTLEMEN,

If I have found any respect or favour from you, or may any ways seem to deserve any, I entreat you most earnestly and as for myself that you will pay to Dr. Wells[2] and to Mr. William Sedgwick the money which the Earl of Manchester hath given them a warrant to receive. I am informed that moneys are not very plentiful with you; howbeit I entreat you to do this for my sake and for their sakes that should have it; for let me speak freely, whatsoever the world may judge, they do fully deserve what I desire for them. I have not been often troublesome to you. I have studied to deserve the good opinion of honest men, amongst which number as I have cause to account you, so I hope I have the like esteem with you, which I desire you to testify by fulfilling this my request; giving you the assurance of his unfeigned friendship who is,

Your very loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL. †

Dr. Sam. Welles was in the first instance attached to Col. Charles Essex's regiment; then to Col. Bulstrode's; and, some time before July 1644, was appointed to Lord Essex's regiment of horse. Sedgwick, at the beginning of the war, was chaplain to Constable's regiment. Mr. Firth thinks that later he was chaplain to the governor of Ely (see *Raising of the Ironsides*, p. 40). He became a note-worthy man in the New Model Army, and was intimately connected with William Dell, who was Cromwell's chaplain in, at any rate some part of 1644.

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[1] Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire.

[2] See Letter I.

* Luke's letter book. *Stowe MSS.*, vol. 190, f. 57.

† Signed only. *S. P. Dom., Chas. I.*, vol. dxxxix., No. 256.

10

In the spring of 1645, the officers were busy with the reducing of Essex's and Manchester's forces, prior to their incorporation in the New Modelled army. Captain Griffin's troop was in the Earl of Manchester's own regiment of horse.

For his noble friend, Major General Skippon

1645, May 3, Abington.

Sir,

These are to certify you that Captain Griffin's troop was reduced this 2nd of May. Sir, I desire you be pleased to show this bearer, his lieutenant, such favour and accommodation as other officers receive who are at this time reduced. Sir, I shall ever remain your assured friend and

Your most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

Underwritten, is Skippon's order to the Treasurers for a fortnight's pay to be given to the above-mentioned lieutenant, Andrew Caldwell, and to two other officers of the troop; and overleaf, Caldwell's receipt for the money.

11

(With Letter XXIV)

On March 3, Cromwell received directions from Parliament to join his regiment, then under orders to march to the west under Waller, and much disinclined to obey them. Cromwell's presence restored order, and they started on the expedition.

On April 9, which is the evident date of the next letter, they were still in the West, but Waller's army was on the eve of being disbanded, and ten days later Cromwell returned to London to lay down his commission, in accordance with the plan for the New Modelled army.

To Col. Edward Whalley

Sarum, Wednesday night [April 9, 1645], at 12 o'clock.

Desiring him to be at a rendezvous at Wilton, with all his [Cromwell's] and Col. Fiennes' troops at break of day next morning, as it is said that the enemy has a design upon their quarters. †

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* *Commonwealth Exchequer Papers.* This letter has got accidentally misplaced. It should be No. 12.

† Original said to be at Melbury, Dorset. Printed in Neal's *Seats*, etc., 2nd series, vol. iv., and in Sanford's *Studies and Illustrations*, p. 623. Compare Letter XXIV. to Fairfax.

12

(AFTER LETTER XXVII)

WRITTEN just after the unsuccessful attempt to storm Farringdon, and when Cromwell was about to retire, "leaving Burgess," as Carlyle says, "to crow over him." The gentleness of its tone compared with Letters XXVI. and XXVII. is very noticeable, but he evidently thought that the Governor exaggerated the importance of his prisoners.

To Lieut.-Col. Burgess

April 30, [1645].

SIR,

There shall be no interruption of your viewing and gathering together the dead bodies, and I do acknowledge it as a favour, your willingness to let me dispose of them. Captain Cannon is but a captain; his major is Smith, so far as I know, but he is a stranger to me. I am confident he is but a captain; Master Elmes but an Ancient [Ensign]. I thank you for your civility to them; you may credit me in this.

I rest, your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

If you accept of equal exchange, I shall perform my part.*

13

To the Honourable William Lenthall

May 9th, 1645.

States that upon information that his Majesty has marched out of Oxford, he and Major-General Browne have drawn towards Hinton, and are resolved to follow the enemy, who, it is thought, will advance to Worcester, and so for the relief of Chester. Desires some money for the better encouragement of the soldiers, and a proportionable measure of ammunition for the pursuing of the enemy.†

The King left Oxford on May 7, with Rupert and Goring. Cromwell soon gave up the pursuit, whether in consequence of a positive prohibition or for want of the "proportionable measure" of money and ammunition, we do not know. On May 28, he was sent back to the Eastern counties, then threatened by the King, who, having heard on

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[*] *Mercurius Aulicus*, April 30, 1645 (E. 285 (14)). Printed in the *English Historical Review*, January, 1887.

[†] *The Weekly Account*, May 7-14, 1645. Reprinted by Sanford, p. 623.

his way north that the siege of Chester was raised, had turned aside and taken Leicester. At the beginning of June, Cromwell was made Lieutenant-General.

14

(After Letter XXIX)

Written the day after the battle of Naseby.

To Sir Samuel Luke, Governor of Newport Pagnell

June 15, 1645.

Sir,

I doubt not but you hear before this time of the great goodness of God to this poor nation, for which we have all cause to rejoice. The General commanded me to desire you to convoy the treasure to Northampton, where Col. Cox will receive it and discharge yours. This is desired may speedily be done. Sir I am your humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

15

This letter is dated on the very day that the battle of Langport was fought.

Circular Letter to the Members at Westminster

[Langport], July 10, 1645.

Gentlemen,

Being at this distance from Lon[don], I am forced to trouble you in a business which I would have done myself, had I been there. It is for Lieut. Col. Lilburne,[1] who hath done both you and the Kingdom good service, otherwise I should not have made use of such friends as you are. He hath a long time attended the House of Com[mons] with a petition that he might have reparation, according to their votes, for his former sufferings and losses and some satisfaction for his arrears for his service of the State, which hath been a long time due unto him.

To this day he cannot get his petition read: his attendance hath proved very expensive, and hath kept him from other employment; and I believe that his former losses and late services (which have been very chargeable) considered, he doth find it a hard thing, in these times, for himself and his family to subsist. Truly, it is a grief to see men ruin themselves through their affection and faithfulness to the public, and so few lay it to heart. It would be an honour to the Parl[iament] and an encouragement to those that faithfully serve them, if provisions were made for the comfortable subsistence of those who have lost all for them. And, I can assure you, that this neglect of those that sincerely serve you hath made some already quit their commands in this army, who have observed oftentimes *their* wives and children have begged, who have lost their lives and limbs in the kingdom's service. I wish it were looked to betimes.

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* Luke's letter book, *Egerton MSS.*, vol. 786, f. 54. Printed by Ellis, *Original Letters*, series iii., vol. iv. p. 257.

[1] This is John Lilburne.

That which I have to request of you is, that you give him your best assistance to get his petition read in the House, and that you will do him all lawful favour and justice in it. I know he will not be unthankful, but adventure himself as freely in the service of the kingdom as hitherto he hath done.

Hereby you shall lay a special obligation upon your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

16

(AFTER LETTER XXXV)

LETTER written the day after Bridget Cromwell's wedding, and a few days before the surrender of Oxford, to John Holles, the second Earl of Clare, of whom Hyde wrote: "He was a man of honour and of courage, and would have been an excellent person, if his heart had not been too much set upon keeping and improving his estate". He had left the Parliament in 1643 and gone to the King at Oxford, with Bedford and Holland, but was very coldly received, and had now rejoined his former friends.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Clare: These

[Oxford], June 16, 1646.

MY LORD,

No command from your Lordship will find me disobedient to observe you. In that which I last received, I had a double obligation. I do admire your Lordship's character of Major

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* Lilburne's *Letter to a Friend*, *King's Pamphlets* (E. 296, no. 5). Printed by Sanford, p. 629. Partly also in Godwin's *Commonwealth*.

White;[1] its to the life. I can with some confidence speak it, being no stranger to him. He is of a right stamp in this, that he would have the honestest men disbanded first, the other being more suitable to his and the common design. The General will instantly order the Nottingham horse to Worcester, wherein I shall be your Lordship's remembrancer to him, and in that and in all things, my Lord, your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Endorsed "Lieutenant General Cromwell's from Oxford, 16 June 1646. White's regiment for Worcester." *

17

(AFTER LETTER XLI)

To my very Loving Friend, Mr. Joinner [Jenner] at Goldsmiths' Hall: These

[London], October 29, 1646.

Requesting permission for Lord Cromwell to correct certain unintentional errors in his particular of estate. Concludes "What favour you shall show my Lord Cromwell herein, you shall oblige your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL." †

Thomas Cromwell, 4th Baron, and Earl of Ardglass in Ireland, was great-great grandson of Henry the VIII.'s Cromwell, and therefore only a distant relation of Oliver's—who was descended, as will be remembered, from the first Lord Cromwell's nephew. In November 1645, the House of Lords ordered him to be committed to the Usher for "deserting the House." He compounded at Goldsmiths' Hall shortly afterwards, stating that his delinquency was only that he had accepted a command under the King, in hopes "to have served his country, and righted himself against the Irish rebels," who had seized his estate and burnt his house, but that he would never accept of any command against Parliament; that he had come in upon the "propositions" of November 1645, and had taken the National Covenant. His fine was set at 800*l.*, part of which was afterwards abated, but his estate was not finally discharged until June 1652. See *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 950.

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[1] Major Charles White, of Nottingham. There are many notices of him, mostly rather unfavourable, in Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*.

* The holograph original is amongst the *Portland Papers*, and is calendared in the *Thirteenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, part ii. p. 137.

† Original in *S. P. Dom.*, *Interregnum G.*, lxxviii. 479. Signed only by Cromwell.

Robert Jenner, M.P. for Cricklade, was put on to the Committee for Compounding shortly after its formation and was one of its most zealous members. See vol. i., p. 386 above.

18

(After Letter XLIV)

The following letters are written (1) to the chairman and (2) to two of the members of the Committee for Advance of Money, during their investigation of the cases of certain delinquent clerks of the Prerogative office. It was ordered that Cromwell's letters were to be considered when the places were filled up, but whether Edwards obtained a clerkship does not appear. See *Calendar of Committee for Advance of Money*, pp. 685, 686.

1. *For the Right Honourable Edward, Lord Howard: these*

March 23, 1646[-7].

My Lord,

Your favours give me the boldness to present the humble suit of this poor man to your Lordship, whose power (as he tells me) may confer upon him that which he seeks, which is a dividend clerk's place in the Prerogative office. I have had many promises from Mr. Hill of doing the man a favour, but I hear he is now out of town. Sir Nathaniel Brent knows him. And truly that which commends him to the place is partly his merit, he having served there as an under clerk about sixteen or seventeen years, and in all that time his behaviour has been such as I believe the strictest man could not detect him. My Lord, believe me I would not put you to this trouble did I not know the man to be a most religious honest man. I have known him so near this twenty years,[1] we having had much of our education together. I dare profess to your Lordship that I believe his modesty and integrity have kept him from being preferred hitherunto. He having so good a pretence, I hope your Lordship will befriend his just desire, and pardon this trouble and boldness to, my Lord,

Your most humble and most faithful servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

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[1] This is apparently an error for thirty (see the next letter) Cromwell being now nearly forty-eight years of age.

* Holograph. Seal with an anchor. *S. P. Dom.*, *Interregnum A.*, cvi. 19. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1899, p. 737.

2. *For my Noble Friends, Henry Darlye and John Gurdon Esquires: These*

Martii ult. 1647.

GENTLEMEN,

I wrote a letter to my Lord Howard on the behalf of this bearer, Mr. Edwards, to desire he may be placed in that office to which he has been related near seventeen years. He is (I am persuaded) a godly man. I have known him above thirty years. I believe the reason he has not been preferred is more because of his modesty and honesty than for any other cause. Now you will have opportunity to right him. He is a very able clerk. The place he desires is a dividend clerk's place in the Prerogative, for which he hath so long served, and from which he hath been so long and unduly kept. He hath a family in town to maintain. I would not write thus confidently for him but upon known grounds.

I rest your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

19

THIS and the following numbers have relation to the negotiations between the Parliament and the army, and between the General (and his chief officers) and the deputies from the discontented regiments. For further documents on this subject, the reader is referred to the *Clarke Papers*, from which these are taken. See also Appendix 10, above.

The order to Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton and Fleetwood to go down to the army was issued on April 30, and they reached Saffron Walden on May 2.

The Officers sent to the Army, to the Colonels or Chief Officers of the Respective Regiments

Walden, May 3rd, 1647.

Desiring them to repair to Saffron Walden, to give the best account they can of the temper of their regiments, and to receive an account of such things as are appointed by the House of Commons to be imparted to the army. *Signed by Skippon, Cromwell and Ireton.* †

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* Holograph. Seal with chequers. *S. P. Dom.*, *Interregnum A.*, cvi. 20. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1899, p. 738.

† Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, i. 20.

20

Skippon and Cromwell to the Commanders of the Eight Horse Regiments[1]

Walden, May 9, [1647].

Desiring them to use their best endeavours to enquire where the three letters sent in the name of their regiments (one to the General, the others to themselves) had their rise, and to bring with them, next Saturday, the best account they can of the matter.*

21

Speech in Saffron Walden Church

On May 16, a meeting, attended by about two hundred officers and a certain number of private soldiers (probably as delegates from their regiments) was held in Saffron Walden Church, at which, after various officers had declared the temper of their regiments, Cromwell made the following speech.

"Gentlemen, by the command of the Major-General,[2] I will offer a word or two to you. I shall not need to remind you what the occasion of this meeting was, and what the business we are sent down about: you see by what has passed that it was for us to learn what temper the army was in, and truly to that end were the votes of the Parliament communicated by us to you, that you should communicate them to the army, that so we might have an accompt from you. That accompt is received, but it being in writing and consisting in many particulars, we do not yet know what the contents of those papers are. But this I am to let you know: that we shall deal very faithfully through the grace of God with those that have employed us hither and with you also. The further consideration of these businesses will be a work of time. The Major-General and the rest of the gentlemen think it not fit to necessitate your stay here from your several charges; but because there may be many particulars that may require further consideration in these papers that are here represented, it is desired that you would stay here a field officer at the least of every regiment, and two captains. For the rest, it is desired of you that you would repair to your several charges, and that when you are there, you would renew your care and diligence in pressing [on] the several soldiers under your commands the effect of those votes that you have already read. That likewise you would acquaint them as particularly with those two things that the Major-General did impart to you, which he had in a letter from the Speaker of the House of Peers, to wit the addition of a fortnight's pay, a fortnight to those that are to go for Ireland, and a fortnight to those that do not go, and likewise there is an Act of Indemnity very full already passed the House of Commons. Truly, gentlemen, it will be very fit for you to have a very great care in the making the best use and improvement that you can both of the votes and of this that hath been last told you, and of the interest which all of you or any of you may have in your several respective regiments, namely to work in them a good opinion of that authority that is over both us and them. If that authority falls to nothing, nothing can follow but confusion. You have hitherto fought to maintain that duty, and truly as you have vouchsafed your hands in defending that, so [vouchsafe] now to express your industry and interest to preserve it, and therefore I have nothing more to say to you. I shall desire that you will be pleased to lay this to heart that I have said." *

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[1] The eight regiments were those of Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Okey, Butler, Sheffield and Rich.

[2] Skippon evidently presided at the meeting. He opened the proceedings and called the speakers to order when they would not "hear one another with sobriety." In fact he was first commissioner, always signing above the others.

* Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, i. 32.

22

The Four Officers to Mr. Speaker

Walden, May 20, 1647.

Stating that upon the order of the 18th inst. they are sending up two of themselves (Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell and Col. Fleetwood) to give an account of their business to the house. *Signed by all four officers.*†

23

The Houses of Parliament having determined to reopen negotiations with the King, voted on June 15 that he should be removed to Richmond, where he was to be guarded, not by men of Fairfax's army, but by a regiment raised in Lincolnshire. The King agreed, and the Lord General gave his consent, appointing Whalley to escort his Majesty, and straightly enjoining him not to let his charge go to London.[1] This the King had been desirous to do ever since his going to Holmby, as is shown by the pamphlet *The King's Majesty's Propositions* (E. 377, 16).

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* *Clarke Papers*, i. 72. On this meeting, see the letter of the Commissioners, printed by Cary, i. 214; also Rushworth, pt. iv. vol. i. pp. 485, 487.

† *Clarke Papers*, i. 94.

Cromwell and Hewson to Col. Whalley

[Berkhampstead] June 25, 1647.

Sir,

Having received yesterday's vote[2] from the House, which puts the Commissioners into the same capacity that they were at Holdenby, we hold you free of all further charge, save to look to your guards that his Majesty make no escape, and therein you must be careful and more now than ever.

Dr. Hammond and the other of his Majesty's Chaplains[3] (so much desired) went through this town this morning, coming towards you; perhaps the Commissioners will put you upon it to keep them from the King so [see?] you are exact only in faithfulness to your trust and that during that only, for now you can be as civil as some others that pretend to be more.[4] Let such distrustful carriages be provided for by those gentlemen who perhaps will incur some difficulty in the way wherein you have been faulted.

We commend ourselves kindly unto you and rest,

Your affectionate friends and servants,

Oliver Cromwell.
John Hewson.

Prithee be very careful of the King's securing, and although you have had some opportunity of putting all upon others that's unacceptable, yet be never a whit more remiss in your diligence.*

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[1] See Fairfax's letter; *Clarke Papers*, i. 138.

[2] *Lords Journals*, ix. 290, 292. *Commons Journals*, v. 222.

[3] Dr. Henry Hammond (uncle of Colonel Robert), one of the King's favourite chaplains, was a canon of Christ Church, Oxford. The other chaplain was Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. They were both ejected by the Visitors in 1648 and imprisoned. Col. Evelyn, Governor of Wallingford, was ordered to take charge of them, but although a puritan, he declared that he could not receive them as prisoners, but only as friends.

[4] Cromwell's language is not very clear, but his meaning plainly is, that whatever the Commissioners may say, the chaplains are to be allowed access to the King.

* *Clarke Papers*, i. 140.

24

The Debate in the "Council of War"[1] *at Reading, July* 16

THE Agitators having demanded an immediate march on London, a debate took place on July 16, in which Cromwell took a leading part. There is a long report of it among the *Clarke MSS.*, from which the following is taken. Cromwell's speeches are here given just as in the Clarke report, with only so much of the substance of the others as is needed to link them together.

LIEUT.-GEN. CROMWELL moved for a Committee, many things then not being fit for debate; and the Council of War to be adjourned till the afternoon.

COMMISSARY-GENERAL IRETON demurred to any delay, and urged the consideration at once of the point whether the army should march to London or no; on which MAJOR TULIDAH declared that all the proposals would be of no effect without a march to London.

LIEUT.-GEN. CROMWELL: "Marching up to London is a single proposal, yet it does not drop from Jupiter, as that it should be presently received and debated without considering our reasons. For I hope this [temper] will ever be in the Agitators—I would be very sorry to flatter them—I hope they will be willing that nothing should be done but with the best reason and with the best and most unanimous concurrence. Though we have this desire backed with such reasons, certainly it was not intended [to say] we had no reason to weigh those Reasons; for I think we shall be left to weigh these Reasons. All this paper is filled with Reasons; the dissatisfaction in particulars; the disadvantages of removal from London; the advantages of marching towards London. You are ripe for a conclusion and get a conclusion; but let this be offered to the General and Council of War."

COL. RAINBOROWE prayed for a little time, in order to come prepared with other reasons. IRETON urged that the great point was not to get power into one man's hands more than another, but to settle the liberties of the kingdom, and to show what the army would do with the power when they got it.

LIEUT.-GEN. CROMWELL: "I desire we may withdraw and consider. Discourses of this nature will, I see, put power into the hands of any[2] that cannot tell how to use it, of those that are like to use it ill. I wish it with all my heart in better hands, and I shall be glad to contribute to get it into better hands. If any man or company of men will say that we do seek ourselves in doing this, much good may it do him with his thoughts. It shall not put me out of my way. The meeting at six o'clock. It is not to put an end to this business of meeting,[1] but I must consult with myself before I consent to such a thing,[2] but really to do such a thing [I must consult] before I do it. And whereas the Commissary[3] does offer that these things were desired before satisfaction be given to the public settlement,[4] there may be a conveniency of bringing in that to the Council of War next sitting, if it be ready and thought fit to be brought in. If these other things be in preparation we may bring them in that we may not be to seek for a Council of War if we had our business ready."

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[1] So called, but it was rather a Council of the Army.

[2] For "any" we should probably read "many." The allusion, Mr. Firth believes, is to the London Militia Commissioners.

Captain Clarke believed that they all sought the good of the kingdom and had no intention of beginning a fresh war. Mr. Allen urged that they should not stand idle while they discussed matters, but ought at once to take the power out of the hands of those who might destroy the kingdom. Ireton reiterated his argument that not quarrelling with others but the satisfaction of the kingdom was the main point, and after two or three other speeches, the Council adjourned.

Afternoon

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "If you remember, there are in your paper five particulars that you insist upon. Two of them are things new, that is to say, things that yet have not been at all offered to the Parliament or their commissioners, that is the second and the fourth.[5] The second, which concerns the Militia of the city, and the fourth which concerns the release of those prisoners that you have named in your paper, and those that are imprisoned in the several parts of the kingdom, of whom likewise you desire a consideration might be had now the judges are riding their circuits.

To the first [we give you] this account: that upon your former paper delivered[6] and upon the weight and necessity of the thing, there has been a very serious care taken by the General, he having, as I told you to-day, referred the preparing of somewhat for the Parliament concerning that to Col. Lambert and myself; and an account of that has been given to the General at our meeting in the inner room; and if it please you, that which has been in preparation may be read together with the Reasons of it. That paper that now it is desired may be read to you is part of it an answer to a former paper that was sent to the Commissioners concerning the excluding of the Reformadoes out of the lines of communication, and the purging of the House of Commons, and the discharging or sending away into Ireland the men that had deserted the army. The General did order a paper to that purpose to be sent to the Commissioners; and that paper that now is to be read to you of a reply to the Commissioners; and there is an addition of this business concerning the Militia, with the Reasons to enforce the desire of it."

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[1] *Query* marching? [2] *i.e.*, marching on London. [3] Ireton.

[4] *i.e.*, that new things are being brought up before the main point (satisfaction to the kingdom) is decided.

[5] 2nd. That the Militia of the City of London be returned into the hands "of those in whom it lately was," etc.

4th. That all prisoners illegally committed be set at liberty and reparation given them—Lilburn, Musgrave and others named. The *Representation* is printed in the *Clarke Papers*, i. 170.

[6] The paper on the London Militia presented on July 6.

The Papers Read[1]

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "Care taken of all them only two, which are concerning the suspending of the eleven members[2] and the discharging of prisoners.

I am commanded by the General to let you know in what state affairs stand between us and the Parliament and into what way all things are put. Tis very true that you urge in your papers, concerning that effect that an advancing towards London may have, and of some supposed inconveniences that our drawing back thus far may bring upon us; but I shall speak to that presently. Our businesses they are put into this way, and the state of our business is this: We are now endeavouring as the main of our work to make a preparation of somewhat that may tend to a general settlement of the peace of the kingdom and of the rights of the subject, that Justice and Righteousness may peaceably flow out upon us. That's the main of our business. These things are but preparatory things to that that is the main; and you remember very well that this, that is the main work of all, was brought to some ripeness. The way that our business is in is this: for the redressing of all these things it [is] a treaty, a treaty with Commissioners sent from the Parliament down hither, to the end that an happy issue may be put to all these matters that so much concern the good of the kingdom, and therein our good is so that they must be finished in the way of a treaty. The truth of it is, you are all very reasonably sensible, that if those things were not removed that we think may lose us the fruit of a treaty, and the fruit of all our labours, it's in vain to go on with a treaty, and it's dangerous to be deluded by a treaty. And therefore I am confident of it, that lest this inconveniency should come to us, lest there should come a second war, lest we should be deluded by a long treaty, your zeal hath been stirred up to express in your paper that there is a necessity of a speedy marching towards Lòndon to accomplish all these things. Truly I think that possibly that may be that that we shall be necessitated to do. Possibly it may be so; but yet I think it will be for our honour and our honesty to do what we can to accomplish this work in the way of a treaty. And if I were able to give you all those reasons that lie in the case I think it would satisfy any rational man here. For certainly that is the most desirable way, and the other a way of necessity, and not to be done but in way of necessity. And truly, instead of all reasons, let this serve; that whatsoever we get by a treaty, whatsoever comes to be settled upon us in that way, it will be firm and durable, it will be conveyed over to posterity, as that that will be the greatest honour to us that ever poor creatures had, that we may obtain such things as these are which we are now about. And it will have this in it too, that whatsoever is granted in that way, it will have firmness in it. We shall avoid that great objection that will lie against us, that we have got things of the Parliament by force, and we know what it is to have that stain lie upon us. Things, though never so good, obtained in that way, it will exceedingly weaken the things, both to ourselves and to all posterity; and therefore I say, upon that consideration, I wish we may be well advised what to do. I speak not this that I should persuade you to go about to cozen one another; it was not in the General's, nor any of our hearts.

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[1] *Book of Army Declarations*, p. 77, paper entitled *An Answer to the Commissioners of the Army*, etc.

[2] This is the first particular, that the eleven members impeached by the army "be forthwith sequestered and disenabled from sitting in the House.'

[You demand] that we that are Commissioners should be very positive and peremptory to have these things immediately granted, I believe, within the compass of that time which your papers mention, within so many days. And for the other two things that they take no care of, that is the members impeached [and the prisoners] these are two additional[s] which will be likewise taken care of to be considered and answered, not with words and votes, but with content and action. For there needs no more of our representing of them than these papers that have been read. In effect there hath been consideration had of the matters in your papers. And if these be not granted in a convenient time and answer given by the way proposed[1] you are yet put in such a way, in taking such a course of doing things as you have proposed sooner than that we could not have put ourselves into a posture of doing.[2]

I hope in God that if we obtain these things in this way we propose to you, and [in] this convenient time, that we shall think ourselves very happy that we have not gone any other way for the obtaining them. That which we seek [is] to avoid the having of a second war and the defeating of those [things] that are so dear to us, whose interest ought to be above our lives to us. If we find anything tending that way to delay us or disappoint us of those honest things we are to insist upon, I hope it cannot nor shall not be doubted that the General nor any of us will be backward for the accomplishment of those things we have proposed. It remains that you have some short account, as the time will bear, of that that has been so long in preparation, which is that that tends to the General Settlement, and the General hath commanded the Commissary to let you have a brief state of that."

Captain Clarke here objected that the "way of treaty" would be too dilatory; that the great thing was to remove corrupt persons from power and place men of known integrity in their room, and that they [the army] were very desirous that the paper presented to his Excellency might be represented [to Parliament] as immediately from them, and from this honourable Council and by the Agitators, which they conceived would put vigour and strength into the business and effect what was so earnestly desired.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I may very easily mistake that which the other officer offered to your Excellency. Two particulars which might receive retardment or obstruction by carrying them on in a way of treaty, I mentioned indeed, particulars which were that of the eleven members and that of the prisoners, and meant that those[3] should go as the sense of the whole army. He conceives it will add more vigour and strength to the desire and make our desires more easily granted [to] present not only those but all the rest [as the sense of the whole army]. If it be so all the rest will be obstructed if they go by way of treaty. There may be perhaps some mistake or forgetfulness in that which I offered to you. I think truly there is no objection lies in that which is said. For, so far as I know and discern of these things and the way of management of them, if we convey [this paper] to the Commissioners and by them to the Parliament as the sense of the whole [army] represented by the Agitators to the General and assented to by the Council of War, and it so becomes the sense not only of the army that is the offended part but also [of] the commanding part of it; and [if] we represent it to them with that positiveness that hath been spoken of, to be sent up to London, to which we desire an answer, and expect an answer within some few days, that is to say, within so short a time as they can have it consulted, we may call this a treaty, but I think it signifies nothing else but what that gentleman speaks of.[1] Therefore for my part I think they[2] differ in nothing but in words and not in substance.

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[1] The two clauses here are inverted.

[2] Cromwell's meaning appears to be that if the Parliament refuse, they will, by their refusal, give the army a better reason for taking another course than any that the army could have found for itself. This seems to be referred to by Allen when he says "The Lieut-Genl hath exprest that if things be not ended in such a way, then there is a ground to go on in some other way."

[3] The MS. has "means by those that".

"I suppose there are resolutions not to enter upon a further treaty till we have an answer to these things, and if you have patience to hear that which is offered you to be acquainted with from the Commissary General, I suppose that business may be so disposed of.[3] Therefore I shall desire that if it please the General that you may[4] have an account of that other business by the Commissary General."

Mr. Allen assured the General that they were satisfied that he and his Council had endeavoured to manage affairs with care and fidelity, but this made it the sadder that the Parliament gave so little care to them. Truly a treaty would have been an honourable way, but they had waited so long that their patience was expended. "The Lieut.-General hath expressed, that if things be not ended in such a way, then there is a ground to go on in some other way." It was in most of their thoughts that those they had been treating with did not intend to conclude things in such a way, and that perhaps God had allowed them to act thus, in order to show to the army the need of using another way to attain them. They believed that the presentation of their proposals and the advance of the army would be the most likely way to obtain the answer to those things which they desired, while delay brought danger every day of running into confusion.

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[1] Mr. Firth's emendation of this passage is adopted as it makes the sense much clearer.

[2] Our proposals.

[3] Here follows in the MS., "As that it may be seen to all the world that it is an effectual means to procure these things to be granted as marching to London would do," but Mr. Firth believes that this sentence belongs to the end of the preceding paragraph.

[4] MS., "that the Commissioners General may by you."

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "If that that I say of the Treaty be applied to one thing, which I mean of another, then there may haply be a very great misunderstanding of me; if[1] that which I speak of [the] Treaty, that relates to those things that are prepared for a general settlement of the kingdom, be applied to the obtaining of these things which are to precede a treaty, then[2] that that I have said to you hath been mistaken throughout, instead[3] of giving me satisfaction of that point which sticks so with every one, of danger and delay. But that which I say of the Treaty, in answer to that [which] is offered in your paper [is] that we should obtain these by positive demand within a circumscribed time, and going [up] of the Commissioners.[4] Yet using the name will not offend if we do not the things, that is [if] we do not treat of those things.[5]

"Give me leave to offer one thing to your consideration which I see you make to be your ground of marching towards London; because it came in my mind, I am sorry I did it, but this came in my mind, and I would not offer it to you but because I really know it is a truth. We are, as our friends are[6] elsewhere, very swift in our affections and desires; and truly I am very often judged for one that goes too fast that way, and it is the property of men that are as I am, to be full of apprehensions that dangers are not so real as imaginary; to be always making haste, and more sometimes perhaps than good speed; we are apt to misapprehensions that we shall be deluded through delay, and that there are no good intentions in the parliament towards us, and that we gather from the manifold bearing[7] of those words that we have represented to them. Give me leave to say this to you; for my own part, perhaps I have as few extravagant thoughts, overweaning [thoughts] of obtaining great things from the Parliament, as any man; yet it hath been in most of our thoughts that this Parliament might be a reformed and purged parliament, that we might see [there] men looking at public and common interests only. This was the great principle we had gone upon, and certainly this is the principle we did march upon when we were at Uxbridge and when we were at St. Albans, and surely the thing was wise and honourable and just, and we see that providence hath led us into that way. It's thought that the Parliament does not mend—what's the meaning of that? That is to say, that company of men that sits there does not mean well to us. There is a party there that have been faithful from the sitting of the parliament to this very day; and we know their interests, and [they] have ventured their lives through so many hazards, they came not to the House but under the apprehensions of having their throats cut every day. If we well consider what difficulties they have passed, then[1] we may not run into that extreme of thinking too hardly of the Parliament; if we shall consider that their business of holding their heads above water is the common work and every other day['s work] and to-day that which we desire is that which they have struggled for as for life, and sometimes they have been able to carry it, others not, and yet daily they get ground. If we [wish to] see a purged Parliament, I pray let me persuade every man that he would be a little apt to hope the best; and I speak this to you as out of a clear conscience before the Lord, I do think that [that part of] the Parliament is upon the gaining hand, and that this work that we are now upon tends to make them gain more; and I would wish that we might remember this always, that [what] we and they gain in a free way, it is better than twice so much in a forced, and will be more truly ours and our posterities; and therefore I desire not to persuade any man to be of my mind, but I wish that every man would seriously weigh these things."

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[1] "but" in MS. The symbols for "the," "that," "but," "if," and "was," are so similar in the system of shorthand used by Clarke that they are very likely to have been mistaken for each other.

[2] "is" in MS.

[3] "and instead" in MS.

[4] *Cf.* what he says on p. 338 above.

[5] Mr. Firth paraphrases this, "There is no harm in nominally using the Commissioners for this purpose if we do not treat with them, but merely turn them into messengers." This sense however seems a little doubtful. An alternative reading might be, "Using the name of a treaty generally will do no harm if we take care that certain things are settled before we begin to treat."

[6] Perhaps this should be "say."

[7] Possibly should be "hearing."

Mr. Allen said that his Honour (speaking his own hopes) told them that the prevailing part of the Parliament was a gaining part; but although they would gladly think so, they could not. Rather it seemed to them that their friends there were the losing party, and always would be so unless a march to London might conduce to quell those who were acting in such manner as to make them losers.

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[1] "that" in text.

To this **Ireton** replied that seeing how many of the other party had left the House, it must be that their friends were on the gaining hand. As to the march upon London and the way of sending up the desires of the army, he could not but believe that the latter would be more effectual if it went as a paper agreed upon by the General, the Council of War and the Agitators, rather than merely given in by the Commissioners. He expected no great matter from the Treaty, and much desired to shorten the work, but saw no reason to blame the Commissioners of Parliament, who had patiently waited. If there had been delay the fault lay with themselves. He and another [probably Lambert] had the proposals for the first of these in hand, and would be glad of suggestions from others.

As to the march upon London, he did not think that should be unless their proposals were offered and rejected, nor that they should seek to gain their object by force if it could be got in any other way. As to the earlier march (in June) the army was then, as it were, proscribed, and the open enemies of the army had the power in Parliament and were in danger of bringing about another war. But these men were now withdrawn from the House and nothing was needed but their actual sequestration, which might justly be demanded ; thus the former reasons for a march had now disappeared.

Allen replied that Ireton's justification for the former march was that the army were then unowned, and the House was then unpurged. Truly, he confessed they were now owned in name, but he doubted not in nature, to be the Parliament's army, for if they were, Parliament would not suffer them to be traduced and reviled as they had been in pulpit and in press. And as to the purging of the House, the [eleven] members were at present debarred from sitting, but the ordinance for sequestering them (which was almost everything) was still wanting. His fear was that while they were still laying the foundation of their plan for a settlement, some would step in and take the matter out of their hands.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "This I wish in the General, that we may all of us so demean ourselves in this business that we speak those things that tend to the uniting of us, and that we do none of us exercise our parts to strain things, and to let in things to a long dispute, or to unnecessary contradictions, or to the stirring up of any such seed of dissatisfaction in one another's minds as may in the least render us unsatisfied one in another. I do not speak this that anybody does do it, but I say this ought to *become* both you and me, that we so speak and act as that the end may be union and a right understanding one with another. Truly if I thought that which was last spoken by Mr. Allen had been satisfactory to that end for which he spake it, I should not have said anything to you. But for that [answer] which he made to the Commissary [General's argument] of the Parliament's owning of us, and what a thing that was to us, and how much tending to the settlement of the peace of the kingdom to say or to think 'it is but a titular thing that, and but in name only that they do own [us],' I think is a very great mistake. For really it did at that time lay the best foundation could be expected for the preventing an absolute confusion in this kingdom, and I think if we had not been satisfied in that, we should not have been satisfied in anything. And [it is a very great mistake] to think that this is any weighty argument, 'it is but titular, because they suffer scandalous books [to] flock up and down'—I would not look they should love us better than they love themselves, and how many scandalous books go out of [*i.e.*, concerning] them.

We have given them, the Parliament,[1] more to do than to attend [to] scandalous books. I hope that will not weigh with any man, and I desire we may put this debate to a conclusion, or else let us answer those things that are really and weightily objected, as truly that was [not]. They have given us so[2] real a testimony that they cannot give more. They cannot disown us without the losing of all rational and honest people in the kingdom, and therefore let us take it as a very great and high owning of us; let not us disown that owning. If any man would [say] by that which was objected we would have peace, a perfect settlement of all we seek and we would march to London to say we forced them.[3] Really, really, have what you will have, that [which] you have by force I look upon it as nothing. I do not know that force is to be used except we cannot get what is for the good of the kingdom without force. All the arguments must tend to this, that it is necessary to use force, to march up with the army, and not to tarry four days. [Was not the argument thus][4] we shall be baffled, denied, and shall never march up, but still be patient and suffer, even to have the ruin of the kingdom as hath been imagined [if we do not march within four days]. [We] expect a speedy answer [to that] which hath been offered, and to make that critical[5] to us whether they own us or intend to perfect the settlement as we expect. The kingdom would be saved, though[1] we do not march within four days, if we had these things granted to us. If these things be granted to us, we may march to York. I wish we may respite our determination till that four or five days be over, till we see how things will be, except you will urge reasons to show it to be of absolute necessity to all those ends to determine just now that we will march up to London tomorrow or next day. I am sorry that we be not satisfied with that which has been proposed as to this very thing, and [hope] that[2] having had assurance these things were put into such a way as hath been offered to you, that you will rest contented with this as at this time, except you will show us some absolute reasons."

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[1] "and the Parliament" in MS.

[2] "as" in MS.

[3] Mr. Firth thinks this may be paraphrased thus, "If any man urges, we would have a perfect settlement of all we seek, and would therefore march to London. Say we did force them to grant what we ask."

[4] MS., "if the argument was not thus." This clause is transferred from the line below.

[5] *i.e.* crucial or decisive.

Major Tulidah said that the Lieut.-General had put the matter to a good issue, for the weight of the business lay there. They all agreed that the things in their proposals were necessary, but differed as to the way of accomplishing them. He desired a "sweet and honourable way of treating" as much as any one; but did not see that they were any further than when they were at Uxbridge, if as far. If advancing to Uxbridge put their friends in Parliament into such a way that they had liberty to speak, if it put them on their legs, nothing would expedite them to speak boldly for the kingdom like an advance to the city. As to forcing things, it was only desired to force them this once that there might be no more forcing—that by the sword, they might take the sword "out of those hands that are enemies to justice." He did not believe that they would gain anything except by marching to London.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "Truly the words spoken by Major Tulidah were [spoken] with affection, but we are rational [men]. I would fain know with what reason or colour of reason he did urge any reason, but only with affirmation of earnest words. For that declaration of the Parliament, the Parliament hath owned us, and taken off that that any man can loyally or rationally charge us with. If that upon his apprehensions or any man's else we shall quarrel with every dog in the street that barks at us, and suffer the kingdom to be lost, with such a fantastical thing? I desire that nothing of heat or earnestness may carry us here, nor nothing of affirmation, nor nothing of that kind may lead us, but that which is truly reason, and that which hath life and argument in it.

"To that which was alleged that by our marching[3] to Uxbridge, we opened those honest men's mouths to speak for us, this is not to be answered with reason, but this is matter of fact, and better known to some of us than it is to Major Tulidah or any of you. 'Tis true there was a fear and an awe upon the Parliament by our marching to Uxbridge, there was something of that, for those eleven members were afraid to be in the House. If you will believe that which is not a fancy, they have voted very essential things to their own purging, and I believe this, if we will believe that which is the truth in fact[1] upon that very one vote that was passed concerning the putting a fine or penalty [on those] that knew themselves to be guilty, and that if they did not go out should accuse themselves to be liable to sequestration[2] I believe there will go twenty or thirty men out of the House of Commons. And if this be [not] an effect and demonstrance of their[3] happy progress and that by use of that liberty that they have had by our [not] drawing near, I appeal to any man? And if they shall, as I said before, disown us, and we give them no cause to do it, but pressing only just and honourable and honest things from them, judge ye, what can the world think of them and of us? But [what can the world think if] we shall do that, whilst we are upon the gaining hand that shall really stop their mouths, to open their mouths in a little for us; that whiles they are, as fast as they can, gaining the things we desire, if we shall be so impatient that whiles they are struggling for life, that they are unable to help us, and gained more within these three days than in ten days, for ought I know we may by advancing stop their mouths.[4]

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[1] "if" in text. These two signs seem often to be confused.

[2] "if" in MS.

[3] MS., "alleged of our marching."

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[1] On July 5 a vote was passed that no person who had been in actual war against the Parliament or accepted pardons from the King, or taken any part in bringing about the cessation or otherwise assisting the Rebellion in Ireland, or were sequestered by Parliament for delinquency, should presume to sit in the House of Commons. (*Commons Journals*, v. 233.) Those who infringed this order were by a second vote of July 9, to be liable to the penalties imposed in the Newcastle propositions on those who had sat in the Oxford Parliament; *i.e.*, to be guilty of high treason and their estates to be sequestered (*ibid.* p. 238.) Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 217. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[2] The report here is very confused. What Cromwell said was probably this: "If we will believe that which is the truth in fact, not that which is a fancy, they have voted very essential things to their own purging." (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[3] "the" in MS.

[4] Mr. Firth suggests that Cromwell's argument is, "Shall we do that whilst they are upon the gaining hand in order to open their mouths for us, that shall really stop their mouths. If we shall be so impatient—and that whilst they are as fast as they can gaining us the things we desire, and have gained us more in the last three days than in ten days whilst they were struggling for life and could not help us—for aught I know, we may by advancing stop their mouths."

"They will not have wherewithal to answer that middle party in the House, who is answered with this reason, 'you see the army is contented to go backward, you see the army is willing to make fair representations[1] of that they have from us.' I profess, I speak it in my conscience, that if we should move until we had made these proposals to them, and see what answer they will give them, we shall not only disable them, but divide among ourselves, and I as much fear that as anything; and if we should speak to your satisfactions you must speak to our satisfactions, though there be great fears of others I shall very much question the integrity of any man that[2] would not have it spoken."

CORNET JOYCE asked whether the Parliament, in owning them to be their army, owned their act in fighting of the King.

MR. SEXBY conceived that what the Parliament had done was from fear, not love; first, because those who had deserted them (the army) were better looked upon and much better paid than they were; and second, because they were treated with, "for truly Parliaments or armies never treat with friends, but enemies."

MAJOR DISBROWE urged them to keep to the business in hand. The report of his speech is rather confused, but he seems to have said that as in any case it would take a few days to prepare to march to London, they might, if they were expeditious in discussing the matter, send off their proposals and get an answer by the time they were ready to start.

LIEUT. SCOTTON said that if they could obtain their desires, they would be willing to waive the march to London; but the great point was that Lieut.-Col. Lilburn should be freed.

CORNET SPENCER said that he had just come from the city, where the militia officers were taking the names of all the apprentices and ordering them to be ready at an hour's warning; and that the King having come to Maidenhead, their friends in London wished the army had come with the King and would march up to London [this last too confusedly expressed for the meaning to be certain].

LIEUT.-GEN. CROMWELL: "Truly Sir, I think neither of these two things that gentleman spoke last are any great news. For the one of them, the listing of apprentices, I doubt they have listed them twice over; I am sure we have heard [it] more than twice over. For the other [that our friends in London] would rejoice to see us come up, what if we [be] better able to consult what is for their good than themselves. It is the general good of them and all the people of the kingdom that's the question;—what's for their good, not what pleases them. I do not know that all these considerations are arguments to have satisfaction in these things that we have in proposition. Though[1] you be in the right and I in the wrong, if we be divided I doubt we shall all be in the wrong. . . . Whether of them will do our work, let them speak without declaring. Let us not think that this is a greater argument, that they love those that deserted, that they have paid them and not us, which was Mr. Sexby's argument, which if it had weight in it, I should have submitted to it. The question is singly this: whether or no we shall not in a positive way desire the answer to these things before we march towards London, when perhaps we may have the same things in the time that we can march. Here is the strictness of the question."

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[1] MS., "fancy representations."

[2] "I" in MS.

Col. Rich said that the debate resolved itself into two points; first, concerning the paper and the five particulars, whether they should go up as they were or whether the paper should first be insisted upon, and whether this should be presented to the Commissioners of Parliament as from the Council or from the Commissioners of the army; the former being, he thought, the better way. Second, to answer the Lieut.-General's question; whether they should march forthwith to London or wait four days.

Lieut. Chillenden thought that the paper might go "concluding all things in it."

Com. Ireton said he would have the five particulars to go but not the paper itself, as it proposed the march to London, which he believed would lose them every friend they had either in Parliament or in the city. As to the expression "that they should not only be sequestered but disabled," he saw no justice in it, and prayed the army to avoid it. *Here the Report ends.**

A newsletter written next day says that over a hundred officers were at this great Council of War besides the agitators, who for prudence were admitted, in view of their influence on the soldiers, and that it "held" until twelve o'clock at night. The chief points demanded were that no foreign forces should come in, that reformadoes should be put out of the line, that the eleven members should be suspended, and especially that the militia of London should be put back "into the same hands it was before." The agitators were for an immediate march to London, but the arguments of the General and officers so far satisfied them that they "submitted it to the General and officers, no man gainsaying it, and so it is resolved to send to the Parliament to desire these particulars, especially the militia, and receive a positive answer within four days. These things being granted, the treaty will proceed." †

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[1] "If" in MS.

* *Clarke Papers*, i. 176 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* i. 214.

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(After Letter XLVIII)

(1) *General Council of Officers at Putney*

28 October, 1647.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell presided, (Fairfax "being not well and at Turnham Green;" Rushworth, viii. 857) and opened the meeting by declaring that it was for public business; and that those that had anything to say concerning the public business might have liberty to speak.

Sexby, on behalf of the agitators, declared that there were two causes of their misery. They sought to satisfy all men, but in going about to do it had dissatisfied all men. They had laboured to please the King, but unless they all cut their throats, they would not please him; and they had all supported a House which would prove rotten studs;[1] *i.e.*, the Parliament. Wherefore he prayed the Lieut.-General and Commissary-General—whose credit and reputation had been much blasted upon these two matters—to consider of those things which should be offered them.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I think it is good for us to proceed to our business in some order, and that will be if we consider some things that are lately past. There hath been a book printed called *The Case of the Army Stated,* and that hath been taken into consideration, and there hath been somewhat drawn up by way of exception to things contained in that book, and I suppose there was an answer brought to that which was taken by way of exception, and yesterday the gentleman that brought the answer he was dealt honestly and plainly withal, and he was told that there were new designs a driving and nothing would be a clearer discovery of the sincerity of [their] intentions, than[2] their willingness that were active to bring what they had to say to be judged of by the General Officers and by this General Council, that we might discern what the intentions were. Now it seems there be divers that are come hither to manifest those intentions according to what was offered yesterday, and truly I think, that the best way of our proceeding will be to receive what they have to offer. Only this, Mr. Sexby, you were speaking to us two. [I know not why], except you think that we have done somewhat or acted somewhat different from the sense and resolution of the General Council. Truly, that that you speak to, was the things that related to the King and things that related to the Parliament; and if there be a fault, I may say it and I dare say, it hath been the fault of the General Council, and that which you do speak, both in relation to the one and the other, you speak to the General Council I hope, though you named us two. Therefore truly I think it sufficient for us to say, and 'tis that we say—I can speak for myself, let others speak for themselves—I dare maintain it, and I dare avow I have acted nothing but what I have done with the public consent, and approbation and allowance of the General Council. That I dare say for myself, both in relation to the one and to the other. What I have acted in Parliament in the name of the Council or of the army I have had my warrant for from hence. What I have spoken in another capacity, as a member of the House, that was free for me to do; and I am confident that I have not used the name of the army, or interest of the army, to anything but what I have had allowance from the General Council for, and [what they] thought fit to move the House in. I do the rather give you this account, because I hear there are some slanderous reports going up and down upon somewhat that hath been offered to the House of Commons [by me] as being the sense and opinion of this army and in the name of this army, which, I dare be confident to speak it, hath been as false and slanderous a report as could be raised of a man. And that was this: That I should say to the Parliament and deliver it as the desire of this army, and the sense of this army, that there should be a second address to the King by way of propositions. I dare be confident to speak it, what I delivered there I delivered as my own sense, and what I delivered as my own sense I am not ashamed of. What I delivered as your sense, I never delivered but what I had as your sense.[1]

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[1] *i.e.*, the uprights in a lathe and plaster wall.

[2] "as" in MS.

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[1] Mr. Firth here notes: "This must refer to the debate of Sept. 23, 1647, on which day the House of Commons resolved 'that the House will once again make application to the King for those things which the Houses shall judge necessary for the welfare and safety of the kingdom.' (*Commons Journals*, v. 314.) Cromwell and Rainborough were both present on Sept. 22, when the question of 'the whole matter concerning the King' was discussed in a Committee of the whole House, and they told against each other on the proposal to resolve the House into a Committee for that purpose. (*Ibid.* v. 312.) Sept. 23 was a Thursday, on which day the General Council of the army usually met, which explains the absence of Cromwell and Rainborough. Of Cromwell's speeches in this debate, newsletters give the only record. One of Sept. 27 (*Clarendon MS.* 2602) says 'The last week his Majesty's answers to the propositions being considered of in the House was voted to be a denial, and that the King's drift therein was to put a difference between the Parliament and the army and between the English and Scottish nation; whereupon a sharp debate grew whether the King should be sent unto any more, or whether they should forthwith proceed to the settlement of the

After a few words from **Col. Rainborowe**, **Commissary Ireton** denied all desire or purpose to set up the King, or to set up the Parliament or any other men whatsoever, to be their law-makers, but neither would he concur with any who were not willing to attempt all ways to preserve both Parliament and King. It was thought fit to let the agitators know what the General Council had done, which was now drawn up in writing as follows (*read*), and he thought it fit that the Council should have an answer.

Mr. Allen: We read the paper amongst them and this is the answer (*read*).

Ireton complained that the agitators set themselves up as a "divided party or distinct Council," and set down their resolutions as things in which they demanded the compliance of others, rather than as seeming willing to show compliance themselves. But upon some things that the Lieut.-General and some others of the Committee offered them, they had descended a little from their height and had now sent some "to hear what we have to say to them or to offer something to us." Wherefore he prayed that they might proceed.

Some remarks from **Buff Coat** (supposed to be **Everard**) followed, and then the second answer of the agitators—*i.e.*, "the Agreement of the People," was read. This demanded 1. Equal electoral districts. 2. The dissolution of the Long Parliament on Sept. 30, 1648. 3. Biennial Parliaments, to be elected every March and sit for five months. 4. The limitation of the powers of future Parliaments so as to guarantee complete toleration; a full indemnity for acts done during the late public differences, and good and equal laws. It attacked the privileges of the peerage and protested against the proposed treaty with the King.

kingdom; to the latter most of the orators inclined, and in likelihood would have led the House that way, but that it was opposed by Cromwell and Ireton, who said it was no fit time to proceed with such vigour, the King having gotten so great a reputation in the army, and therefore advised them to proceed in a way towards the satisfaction of the kingdom and army; and so they went to review the propositions, having first voted that they should be carried to the King as ordinances, not as propositions. There have been in the prosecution of this business some desperate motions; as, that the King, in regard that many who give him ill counsel and are professed enemies to the Parliament resort unto him, should be restrained; that they should think no more of the King, but proceed as if there were no such thing in the world, for that he is always an impediment to all good resolutions; some calling him Ahab, others, Coloquintida. But all those speeches have been stopped by Cromwell and Ireton, whose civilities are visible, but the reality of their intentions not clearly discerned.' Sir Edward Ford writes on September 28: 'It was moved earnestly in the House that the malignants might be removed from court, and also that the King might be removed further off from the headquarters because of the confluence of people to him . . . might beget an ill influence and danger in the army, but it was opposed by Cromwell and Ireton: of late they have spoken much in the King's behalf, seconded by young Harry Vane, Mr. Solicitor and Mr. Fiennes. Cromwell, applying himself to the Speaker, told him that it was worth his consideration how that there was a party in the army labouring for the King and a great one: how the city was endeavouring underhand to get another party in the army; and that there was a third party, who was little dreamt of, that were endeavouring to have no other power to rule but the sword.' (*Clarendon MS.* 2604.)"

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "These things that you have now offered, they are new to us; they are things that we have not at all (at least in this method and thus circumstantially) had any opportunity to consider of them, because they come to us but thus, as you see; this is the first time we had a view of them.

Truly this paper does contain in it very great alterations of the very government of the kingdom, alterations from that government that it hath been under, I believe I may almost say, since it hath been a nation; I say I think I may almost say so, and what the consequences of such an alteration as this would be, if there were nothing else to be considered, wise men and godly men ought to consider, I say, if there were nothing else [to be considered] but the very weight and nature of the things contained in this paper. Therefore, although the pretensions in it and the expressions in it are very plausible, and if we could leap out of one condition into another, that had so specious things in it as this hath, I suppose there would not be much dispute, though perhaps some of these things may be very well disputed. How do we know if, whilst we are disputing these things, another company of men shall gather together, and they shall put out a paper as plausible perhaps as this? I do not know why it might not be done, by that time you have agreed upon this, or got hands to it, if that be the way. And not only another and another, but many of this kind. And if so, what do you think the consequence of that would be? Would it not be confusion? Would it not be utter confusion? Would it not make England like the Switzerland country, one canton of the Swiss against another, and one county against another? I ask you whether it be not fit for every honest man seriously to lay that upon his heart? And if so, what would that produce but an absolute desolation—an absolute desolation to the nation—and we in the meantime tell the nation: "It is for your liberty, 'tis for your privilege, 'tis for your good." Pray God it prove so, whatever course we run.[1] But truly I think we are not only to consider what the consequences are (if there were nothing else but this paper) but we are to consider the probability of the ways and means to accomplish: that is to say [to consider] if[2] according to reason and judgment, the spirits and temper of the people of this nation are prepared to receive and to go on along with it, and [if] those great difficulties [that] lie in our way [are] in a likelihood to be either overcome or removed. Truly, to anything that's good, there's no doubt on it, objections may be made and framed ; but let every honest man consider whether or no there be not very real objections [to this] in point of difficulty. I know a man may answer all difficulties with faith, and faith will answer all difficulties really where it is, but[1] we are very apt all of us to call that faith that perhaps may be but carnal imagination and carnal reasonings. Give me leave to say this, there will be very great mountains in the way of this, if this were the thing in present consideration ; and therefore we ought to consider the consequences, and God hath given us our reason that we may do this. And it is not enough to propose things that are good in the end, but it is our duty as Christians and men to consider consequences and to consider the way, even supposing[2] this model were an excellent model, and fit for England and the kingdom to receive.

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[1] Cromwell has here gone off into one of his long parentheses. The line of thought is: If there were nothing but the consequences to be considered, we ought to reflect on them (for although the proposals are very plausible, they would probably lead us into confusion) but also we have to consider the probability that we may not be able to accomplish the thing at all.

[2] MS., "that."

But really I shall speak to nothing but that that, as before the Lord, I am persuaded in my heart tends to uniting of us in one to that that God will manifest to us to be the thing that He would have us prosecute; and he that meets not here with that heart and dares not say he will stand to that, I think he is a deceiver. I say it to you again, and I profess unto you, I shall offer nothing to you but that I think in my heart and conscience tends to the uniting of us and to the begetting a right understanding among us ; and therefore this is that I would insist upon, and have it cleared among us.

It is not enough for us to insist upon good things ; that every one would do—there is not forty of us but we could prescribe many things exceeding plausible, and hardly anything worse than our present condition, take it with all the troubles that are upon us. It is not enough for us to propose good things, but it behoves honest men and Christians that really will approve themselves so before God and men, to see whether or no they be in a condition [to attempt], whether, taking all things into consideration they may honestly endeavour and attempt that that is fairly and plausibly proposed. For my own part I know nothing that we are to consider first but that, before we would come to debate the evil or good of this [paper] or to add to it or subtract

[1] MS., "and."

[2] "but suppose" in MS.

from it,[1] which I am confident, if your hearts be upright as ours are—and God will be judge between you and us—if we should come to anything, you do not bring this paper with peremptoriness of mind, but to receive amendments, to have anything taken from it that may be made apparent by clear reason to be inconvenient or unhonest. This ought to be our consideration and yours, saving [that] in this you have the advantage of us—you that are the soldiers, you have not—but you that are not [soldiers] you reckon yourselves at a loose and at a liberty, as men that have no obligation upon you. Perhaps we conceive we have; and therefore this is that I may say—both to those that come with you and to my fellow-officers and all others that hear me—that it concerns us, as we would approve ourselves before God, and before men that are able to judge of us, if we do not make good [our] engagements, if we do not make good that that the world expects we should make good. I do not speak to determine what that is, but if I be not much mistaken, we have in the time of our danger issued out Declarations; we have been required by the Parliament, because our Declarations were general, to declare particularly what we meant; and having done that, how far that obliges or not obliges [us], that is by us to be considered, if we mean honestly and sincerely and to approve ourselves to God as honest men. And therefore, having heard this paper read, this remains to us; that we again review what we have engaged in, and what we have that lies upon us. He that departs from that that is a real engagement and a real tie upon him, I think he transgresses without faith, for faith will bear up men in every honest obligation, and God does expect from men the performance of every honest obligation. Therefore I have no more to say but this: We having received your paper shall amongst ourselves consider what to do; and before we take this into consideration, it is fit for us to consider how far we are obliged, and how far we are free; and I hope we shall prove ourselves honest men where we are free to tender anything to the good of the public. And this is that I thought good to offer to you upon this paper."

Mr. Wildman said that having been appointed as a mouth-piece at the meeting of gentlemen, soldiers and agents the day before, he would say something in reply to his Honour, the chief weight of whose speech seemed to be that he and his brother officers would consider their obligations and how far they were engaged, before considering the paper, adding that God would protect men in keeping honest promises. But, so far as he comprehended the meaning of those from whom he came, every past obligation must be considered again, whether it were just or no, for if by a clearer right it appeared not so, they judged (and so does he) that a man might honestly recede from it. Therefore the first thing was to consider the honesty of what was offered.

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[1] May be paraphrased, "Which paper I am confident, if your hearts be upright as ours, you do not bring with peremptoriness of mind," etc. The words "if we should come to anything," seem to belong to the previous clause. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

Commissary Ireton, after objecting to the theory that a man can withdraw from all engagements to another if he alters his mind about their justice, as subversive of law and the Commonwealth, and observing that it comes strangely from one who agrees with this book [*i.e.*, the Case of the Army] in which every punctilio of Engagement is insisted on, declared that there were many things in the paper which he should rejoice to see obtained, and if they were free from all engagements, he should concur further than at present he can. But they were under engagements; the army itself was under engagements, and however much this gentleman might hold himself absolved, he believed those of the army who came with him would hold themselves bound by them. Therefore they must consider how far they were obliged by their former declarations, and unless the Council would meet from day to day and consider the matter themselves, he proposed that a Committee be appointed for the purpose.

Col. Rainborowe said that he had not expected to be there and it would probably be the last time. He came thither not about the paper, but because he had learnt that his regiment was to be taken from him, but rather than lose it, Parliament should exclude him from the House or imprison him, for whilst he was employed abroad he would not be undone at home. As to the paper, whoever had done it had done it with much respect to the good of his country. It had been said that a man, being engaged, must perform his engagements, but he was wholly confident that every honest man was bound to God and his conscience, let him be engaged in what he will, to decline it if convinced that it is his duty. There were two objections made to this thing. 1. Division; but he believed that honest things would keep them together. 2. Difficulties; but if they had thought of difficulties they would never have looked an enemy in the face, and whatever the difficulties might be, even if they had death before them and the sea on either side and behind, yet if they were convinced that the thing was just, they were bound to carry it on. It was said: "it's a huge alteration, it's a bringing in of new laws"; this kingdom has been under this government ever since it was a kingdom. "If writings be true, there hath been many scufflings between the honest men of England and those that have tyrannised over them," and the just laws which English men are born to were intrenchments once. But even if they are what the people have always been under, "if the people find that they are [not] suitable to freemen as they are," there is no reason why anything should not be gained "that might be more advantageous to them than the government under which they live." He prayed that the justness of the thing might be considered, and, that established—that nothing might deter them from doing that which was just to the people.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "Truly I am very glad that this gentleman that spoke last is here, and not sorry for the occasion that brought him hither; because it argues that we shall enjoy his company longer than I thought we should have done."

Col. Rainborowe: "If I should not be kicked out."

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "And truly then I think it shall not be long enough. But truly I do not know what the meaning of that expression is, nor what the meaning of any hateful word is here. For we are all here with the same integrity to the public; and perhaps we have all of us done our parts not frighted with difficulties, one as well as another; and I hope have all purposes henceforward, through the grace of God, to do so still. And therefore truly I think all the consideration is, that amongst us we are almost all soldiers; all considerations [of not fearing difficulties] or words of that kind do wonderfully please us, all words of courage animate us to carry on our business, to do God's business [and] that which is the will of God. I say it again, I do not think that any man here wants courage to do that which becomes an honest man and an Englishman to do. But we speak as men that desire to have the fear of God before our eyes, and men that may not resolve to do that which we do in the power of a fleshly strength, but to lay this as the foundation of all our actions, to do that which is the will of God. And if any man have a false deceit—on the one hand, deceitfulness, that which he doth not intend, or a persuasion on the other hand, I think he will not prosper.

"But to that which was moved by Col. Rainborow, of the objections of difficulty and danger of the consequences, they are not proposed to any other end, but [as] things fitting consideration, not forged to deter from the consideration of the business. In the consideration of the thing that is new to us, and of everything that shall be new that is of such importance as this is, I think that he that wishes the most serious advice to be taken of such a change as this is—so evident and clear [a change]—whoever offers that there may be most serious consideration, I think he does not speak impertinently. And truly it was offered to no other end than what I speak. I shall say no more to that.

"But to the other, concerning Engagements and breaking of them. I do not think that it was at all offered by anybody that though an Engagement were never so unrighteous, it ought to be kept. No man offered a syllable or tittle [to that purpose]. For certainly it's an act of duty to break an unrighteous Engagement; he that keeps it does a double sin, in that he made an unrighteous Engagement, and [in] that he goes about to keep it. But this was only offered,[1] and I know not what can be more fit;[1] that before we can consider of this [paper] we labour to know where we are and where we stand. Perhaps we are upon Engagements that we cannot with honesty break, but let me tell you this, that he that speaks to you of Engagements here, is as free from Engagements to the King as any man in all the world; and I know that[2] if it were otherwise, I believe my future actions would provoke some to declare it. But I thank God I stand upon the bottom of my own innocence in this particular; through the grace of God I fear not the face of any man; I do not. I say we are to consider what Engagements we have made, and if our Engagements have been unrighteous, why should we not make it our endeavours to break them. Yet if unrighteous Engagements,[3] it is not [good to make] a present breach of them unless there be a consideration of circumstances. Circumstances may be such as I may not now break an unrighteous Engagement, or else I may do that which I do[4] scandalously, though[5] the thing be good.[6] If that be true concerning the breaking of an unrighteous Engagement, it is much more verified concerning Engagements disputable whether they be righteous or unrighteous. If so, I am sure it is fit we should dispute [them], and if, when we have disputed them, we see the goodness of God enlightening us to see our liberties, I think we are to do what we can to give satisfaction to men. But if it were so, as we made an Engagement in judgment and knowledge, so we go off from it in judgment and knowledge. But there may be just engagements upon us, such as perhaps it will be our duty to keep; and if so, it is fit we should consider; and all that I said [was] that we should consider our Engagements, and there is nothing else offered, and therefore what need anybody be angry or offended. Perhaps we have made such Engagements as may in the matter of them not bind us, [yet] in some circumstances they may. Our Engagements are public Engagements. They are to the kingdom, and to every one in the kingdom that could look upon what we did publicly declare; could read or hear it read. They are to the Parliament, and it is a very fitting thing that we do seriously consider of the things. And shortly, this is that I shall offer: that because the kingdom is in the danger it is in, because the kingdom is in that condition it is in, and time may be ill spent in debates, and it is necessary for things to be put to an issue—if ever it was necessary in the world it is now—I should desire this may be done:—

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[1] Transposed from the line below, after "this paper."

[2] MS., "it."

[3] *i.e.*, if our engagements are unrighteous.

[4] "did" in MS.

[5] "if" in MS.

[6] Though the thing in itself is right to do.

"That this General Council may be appointed [to meet] against a very short time, two days, Thursday if you would, against Saturday, or at furthest against Monday: that there might be a Committee out of this Council appointed to debate and consider with those two gentlemen and with any others that are not of the army that they shall bring, and with the agitators of those five Regiments; that so there may be a liberal and free debate had amongst us; that we may understand really as before God the bottom of our desires, and that we may seek God together, and see if God will give us an uniting spirit. Give me leave to tell it you again, I am confident there sits not a man in this place that cannot so freely act with you but if he sees that God hath shut up his way that he cannot do any service in that way as may be good for the kingdom, he will be glad to withdraw himself, and wish you all prosperity. And if this heart be in us as is known to God, that searcheth our hearts and trieth the reins, God will discover whether our hearts be not clear in this business. Therefore I shall move that we may have a Committee amongst ourselves [to consider] of the Engagements, and this Committee to dispute things with others, and a short day [to be appointed] for the General Council. I doubt not but if in sincerity we are willing to submit to that light that God shall cast in among us, God will unite us and make us of one heart and one mind. Do the plausiblest things you can do, do that which hath the most appearance of reason in it that tends to change, at this conjuncture of times, you will find difficulties. But if God satisfy our spirits, this will be a ground of confidence to every good man, and he that goes upon other grounds, he shall fall like a beast. I shall desire this, that you or any other of the agitators or gentlemen that can be here will be here, that we may have free discourses amongst ourselves of things, and you will be able to satisfy each other. And really, rather than I would have this kingdom break in pieces before some company of men be united together for a settlement, I will withdraw myself from the army to-morrow and lay down my commission. I will perish before I hinder it."[1]

Bedfordshire Man: Hoped that the engagements of the army had given nothing away that was the people's rights. As to the change of Government, there might be dangers in it, but there might be more dangers without it. Moved that there might be free liberty to act for the people's good and that all who conceived themselves bound up would desist, and not hinder the people in a more perfect way.

Capt. Awdeley urged the immediate appointing of a Committee.

Lieut.-Col. Goffe begged to put his honour in mind of what he moved even now, (viz. that there might be a seeking of God in the things that now lie before them), mourned the withdrawal of God's presence and urged that they should seriously set themselves to seek the Lord; and proposed the morrow as the best day.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I know not what [time] Lieut.-Col. Goffe means for tomorrow for the time of seeking God. I think it will be requisite that we do it speedily, and do it the first thing, and that we do it as unitedly as we can, as many of us as well may meet together. For my part I shall lay aside all business for this business, either to convince or be convinced as God shall please. I think it would be good that tomorrow morning be spent in prayer, and the afternoon might be the time of our business. I do not know if[2] these gentlemen do assent to it that tomorrow in the afternoon might be the time."

Lieut.-Col. Goffe agreed to this.

Commissary Ireton acknowledged himself as much moved by what **Lieut.-Col. Goffe** had said; feared they none of them walked as closely with God as they should, urged that the main thing was for each of them individually to wait upon God, and proposed that the next forenoon should be set apart for all to spend in prayer, but either in private or public as each thought best.

Agreed for the meeting for prayer to be at Mr. Chamberlain's.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell urged that they should not meet as two contrary parties but as some desirous to satisfy or convince each other.

Mr. Petty had only done what was desired by the agents that sent him, but not knowing their sense as to the meeting, he could only give his own consent to it.

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[1] Cromwell's dread of division is commented on in Berkeley's *Memoirs*. "After Cromwell quitted the Parliament, his chief dependence was on the army, which he endeavoured by all means to keep in unity, and if he could not bring it to his sense, he, rather than suffer any division in it, went over himself and carried his friends with him into that way which the army did choose." *Masere's Tracts*, i. 364.

[2] "that" in MS.

Buff Coat spoke to the same effect.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I hope we know God better than to make appearances of religious meetings covers for designs as for insinuations amongst you. I desire that God that hath given us some sincerity will own us according to His own goodness and that sincerity that He hath given us. I dare be confident to speak it, that [design] that hath been amongst us hitherto is to seek the guidances of God, and to recover that presence of God that seems to withdraw from us;[1] and our end is to accomplish that work which may be for the good of the kingdom. It seems to us in this as much as anything we are not of a mind,[1] and for our parts we do not desire or offer you to be with us in our seeking of God further than your own satisfactions lead you but only [that] against tomorrow in the afternoon (which will be designed for the consideration of these businesses with you) you will do what you may to have so many as you shall think fit, to see what God will direct you to say to us. That—whiles we are going one way and you another—we be not both destroyed. This requires spirit. It may be too soon to say, it is my present apprehension; I had rather we should devolve our strength to you than that the kingdom for our division should suffer loss.[2] For that's in all our hearts, to profess above anything that's worldly the public good of the people; and if that be in our hearts truly and nakedly, I am confident it is a principle that will stand. Perhaps God may unite us and carry us both one way. And therefore I do desire you, that against tomorrow in the afternoon, if you judge it meet, you will come to us to the Quartermaster-General's quarters, where you will find us [at prayer] if you will come timely to join with us, [or] at your liberty, if afterwards, to speak with us, there[3] you will find us."

Mr. Wildman wished to return to the earlier business of the meeting. It was said that as the agents insisted on Engagements in the "Case of the Army" it was therefore contrary to their principles that an Engagement which was unjust should lawfully be broken.[4] The principle that a man once engaged, though the engagement appeared to be unjust, must sit down and suffer under it—and that therefore, if they were engaged to submit to the laws made by Parliament, they must swear obedience even to unrighteous laws—seemed to him very dangerous and contrary to the first declaration of the army.[1] The agents desired nothing but the union of the army, but the necessities of the kingdom were such that it might be lost by two or three days' delay, as there might be an agreement by propositions between the King and Parliament. They [the agents] were satisfied that their way was just and meant to go on with it. The main thing was to secure the rights of the people in their Parliaments, as insisted on by the Declaration of June 14. If the thing was just or the people's due, no Engagement could bind them from it, therefore it was only the justice of the thing that needed to be considered.

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[1] "And it seems as much to us in this as anything we are not all of a mind. And to accomplish that work which may be for the good of the kingdom is our end." MS.

[2] See quotation from Berkeley, p. 357 *note*, above.

[3] "and there" in MS.

[4] See Ireton's speech, p. 353 above.

Com. Ireton declared that he was far from holding that if a man had engaged himself to what it were sin to perform, he was still bound to do it; but what they were talking of was not so much of what was sinful before God as of what was just between man and man; and he conceived that the great foundation of right and justice betwixt man and man was that they should keep covenant one with another. If the principle of covenant, of contract were taken away, what right had a man to his estate or his goods. When he heard that the keeping of engagements was to depend only on the "wild or vast notion of what in every man's conception is just or unjust" he trembled at the endless consequences of it. It was argued that if this engagement were just, then all the engagements made before, if they were against it, were unjust; but there was a great deal of equivocation as to what is just and unjust.

Wildman and Ireton carried on their contention for some time, interrupted only by a suggestion from Capt. Awdeley that if they tarried long, the King would come and say who would be hanged first.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "Let me speak a word to this business. We are now upon that business which we spake of consulting with God about, and therefore for us to dispute the merit of those things, I judge it altogether unreasonable[2] unless you will make it the subject of debate before you consider it among yourselves. The business of the Engagement[s] lies upon us. They[3] are free in a double respect; they made none, and if they did, then the way out is now, and [it is a way] which all the members of the army, except they be sensible of it [may take] and at one jump jump out of all [engagements] and it is a very great jump, I will assure you.[4] As we profess we intend to seek the

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[1] *i.e.*, the "Declaration of the Army" of June 14, 1647.

[2] "about it" in MS.

[3] "they," *i.e.*, the representatives of the five regiments and the agents of the Londoners. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[4] This seems to be sarcastic: they made no engagements, or if they did, they now say they are free to break them all; and all the army may take the like big jump, unless they happen to be sensible of their obligations.

Lord in the thing, the less we speak in it [now] the better, and the more we cast ourselves upon God the better.

I shall only speak two things to Mr. Wildman in order to our meeting. Methought he said: if there be delay he fears this business will be determined, the propositions will be sent from the Parliament, and the Parliament and King agree, and so those gentlemen that were in that mind to go on in their way will be cut off in point of time to their own disadvantage. And the other thing he said was, that these gentlemen who have chosen Mr. Wildman and that other gentleman[1] to be their mouth at this meeting to deliver their minds, they are upon the matter engaged in what they have resolved upon, and they come as engaged men upon their own resolution. If that be so, I think there neither needs consideration of the former, for you will not be anticipated. If that be so, you [can] work accordingly. And though you do meet us, yet having that resolution, you cannot be prevented in your way[2] by any proposition or any such thing; though we should have come hither and we should meet tomorrow as a company of men that really would be guided by God. If any come to us tomorrow only to instruct us and teach us, how far that will consist with the liberty of a free[3] [debate] or an end of satisfaction, I refer to every sober-spirited man to think of and determine.[4] I think it is such a pre-engagement that there is no need of talk of the thing. And I see then, if that be so, things are in such an irrevocable way—I will not call it desperate—as there is no hope of accommodation or union, except we receive the counsels—I will not call it the commands—of them that come to us. I desire that we may rightly understand this thing. If this be so, I do not understand what the end of the meeting will be. If this be not so, we[5] will [not] draw any man from their engagments further than the light of God shall draw them from their engagements; and I think, according to your own principle, if you be upon any Engagement you are liable to be convinced unless you be infallible. If we may come to an honest and single debate, how we may all agree in one common way for public good; if we meet so, we shall meet with a great deal the more comfort and hopes of a good and happy issue and understanding of the business. But if otherwise, I despair of the meeting, or at least I would have the meeting to be of another notion, a meeting that did represent the agitators of five Regiments to give rules to the Council of War. If it signify this, for my own part I shall be glad to submit to it under this notion. If it be a free debate what may be fit for us all to do, with clearness and openness before the Lord, let us understand, that we may come and meet so and in that sincerity.[1] Otherwise I do verily believe we shall meet with prejudice, and we shall meet to prejudice—really to the prejudice of the kingdom and of the whole army. Thus, if we be absolutely resolved upon our way and engaged beforehand, the kingdom will see it is such a real actual division as admits of no reconciliation, and all those that are enemies to us and friends to our enemies, will have the clearer advantage upon us, to put us into inconveniency. And I desire if there be any fear of God among us, I desire that we may declare ourselves freely, that we do meet upon these terms."

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[1] Petty.

[2] MS., "in your way you cannot be prevented."

[3] MS., "the liberty of a free liberty."

[4] The last two words transferred from three lines before.

[5] MS., "that they," *i.e.*, Cromwell and the Council. The reporter changes into *oratio obliqua* for a moment. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

Col. Rainborowe supported Wildman's argument, but believed there was "no such distance betwixt these gentlemen as is imagined," but that they would hear reason and be advised by the Council, and hoped for a happy meeting on the morrow.

Buff Coat said that he would break an hundred obligations a day "if afterwards God should reveal Himself."

Mr. Wildman: Provided that which is done tends to either self-destruction or destruction of one's neighbour.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I think clearly you were understood to put it upon an issue where there is clearly a case of destruction, public destruction and ruin; and I think this will bring it into consideration whether or no our Engagements have really in them that that hath public destruction and ruin necessarily following. Or whether or no we may not give way too much to our own doubts or fears? And whether it be lawful to break a covenant upon our own doubts and fears will be the issue. I think [best] if we agree to defer the debate, to nominate a Committee."

After some remarks from Rainborowe, Ireton and Wildman, Mr. Lockyer observed that he gathered that destruction was something near, and that the cause thereof was supposed to be "the going of the proposals to the King." Thought that they should be brought hither, that it might be seen what they were.

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[1] Four words transferred from the previous line.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "The question is whether the propositions will save us, or [whether they will] not destroy us. This discourse concludes nothing."

Capt. Merriman thought that fundamentally both parties of them desired the same thing, and hoped that their meeting would be for good, not evil.

Buff Coat: Although the gentleman who has come along with them [Wildman] has declared their resolutions, yet if God gives them further light, they will not deny it. They have not come resolved *nolens volens* and desire there may be better thoughts of them than that.

Lieut. Chillenden hoped that the hearts of the gentlemen of the five regiments tended to peace and that they would willingly come on the morrow and join "with sweet compliance in communicating counsels."

Lieut.-General Cromwell: "That which this gentleman[1] hath moved I like exceeding well; he hath fully declared himself concerning the freedom of their spirit as to principles. In general they aim at peace and safety, and really I am persuaded in my conscience it is their aim [to act] as may be most for the good of the people, for really if that be not the supreme good to us under God (the good of the people) our principles fall. Now if that be in your spirits and our spirits it remains only that God show us the way, and lead us [in] the way, which I hope He will. And give me leave [to add] that there may be some prejudices upon some of your spirits, and [upon] such men that do affect your way, that they may have some jealousies and apprehensions that we are wedded and glued to forms of government; so that whatsoever we may pretend, it is in vain for [you] to speak to us, or to hope for any agreement from us to you; and I believe [also] some such apprehensions as [to] some part of the legislative power of the kingdom, where it may rest besides in the Commons of the kingdom. You will find that we are far from being so particularly engaged to anything to the prejudice of this—further than the notorious engagements that the world takes notice of—that we should not concur with you that the foundation and supremacy is in the people, radically in them, and to be set down by them in their representations.[2] And if we do so [concur, we may also concur] how we may run to that end that we all aim at for[1] that that does remain and therefore let us only name the Committee."

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[1] *i.e.*, Buff Coat.

[2] "Some people believe we are engaged to maintain the authority of the House of Lords. Waller asserts that Cromwell and Ireton privately entered into an engagement to maintain the rights of the House of Lords in August 1647, when the nine Lords joined the army." *Vindication*, p. 192. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

Lieut.-Col. Goffe was fully persuaded that if God carried them to meet sincerely, and freely open themselves before the Lord, they might be found going on according to His will.

Mr. Allen questioned whether "these gentlemen" had power to debate, and if not, thought they should have recourse to those that sent them to see what powers might be given them. Unless they could have a full debate, the meeting would be "useless and endless."

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "That gentleman says he will do what he can to draw all or the most of them hither to be heard tomorrow; and I desire Mr. Wildman, that if they have any friends that are of a loving spirit, that would contribute to this business of a right understanding [they would come with him]. And I say no more but this, I pray God judge between you and us when we do meet, whether we come with engaged spirits to uphold our own resolutions and opinions or whether we shall lay down ourselves to be ruled by[2] that which he shall communicate."

After a few words from **Rainborowe**, hoping that the gentlemen would come with power not only to debate but to act, a Committee of eighteen was chosen to confer with the agitators of the five regiments and such gentlemen as should come with them about the Agreement now brought in, and their own declarations and engagements.

(2) *At the Meeting of the officers for calling upon God according to the appointment of the General Council*

Putney, October 29.

After discourses from **Commissary Cowling**, **Major White**, **Capt. Clarke**, **Adjutant-Gen. Deane**, **Lieut.-Col. Goffe**, **Mr. Everard** (who, Mr. Firth points out, is the **Buff Coat** of the previous meeting) and others, the **Lieut.-General** said:

"I think it would not be amiss that those gentlemen that are come would draw nigher.

"I must offer this to your consideration, whether or no we, having set apart this morning to seek God, and to get such a preparedness of heart and spirit as might receive that, that God was minded to have imparted to us, and this having taken up all our time, all this day, and it having been so late this last night as indeed it was when we brake up, and we having appointed a committee to meet together to consider of that paper, and this committee having had no time or opportunity that I know of, not so much as a meeting, I make some scruple or doubt whether or no it is not better,—[I know] that danger is imagined [near at hand] and indeed I think it is,—but be the danger what it will, our agreement in the business is much more [pressing] than the pressing of any danger, so by that we do not delay too. That which I have to offer [is] whether or no we are [as] fit to take up such a consideration of these papers now as we might be to-morrow. Perhaps if these gentlemen, which are but few, and that committee should meet together, and spend their time together an hour or two, the remainder of the afternoon, and all this company might meet about nine or ten o'clock at furthest, they[1] [might] understand one another so well as we might be prepared for the general meeting to have a more exact and particular consideration of things than [we can have] by a general loose debate of things, which our committee, or at least many[2] of us have [not] had any, or at least not many thoughts about."

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[1] MS., "or."

[2] "and" in MS.

Col. Rainborowe urged that as they were all met there together they might go on, and thought that the more public the debate was, the better. The Committee might still meet for an hour or two afterwards.

Mr. Everard desired that the Council might at once consider upon some way of easing them. He did not desire to ruinate any wholesome laws, but only such as would not stand with the peace of the kingdom.

Capt. Awdeley desired to second this gentleman's motion. While they debated, they did nothing.

Lieut.-Gen Cromwell: "I think it is true. Let us be doing, but let us be united in our doing. If there remain nothing else but present action[3] I think we need not be in Council here. But if we do not rightly and clearly understand one another before we come to act, if we do not lay a foundation of action before we do act, I doubt whether we shall act unanimously or no. And seriously, as before the Lord, I knew no such end of our speech the last night, and appointing another meeting, but in order to a more perfect understanding of one another what we should do, and that we might be agreed upon some principles of action. And truly, if I remember rightly, upon[4] the delivery of the paper that was yesterday, this was offered, that the things [that] are now upon us are things of difficulty, the things are therefore things that do deserve consideration, because there might be great weight in the consequences; and it was then offered, and I hope is still so in all our hearts, that we are not troubled with the consideration of the difficulty, nor with the consideration of anything but this; that if we do difficult things we may see that the things we do have the will of God in them, that they are not only plausible and good things but seasonable and honest things, fit for us to do. And therefore it was desired that we might consider before we could come to these papers, in what condition we stood in respect of former engagements; however[1] some may be satisfied that there lie none upon us, or none but such as it's duty to break, it's sin to keep. Therefore that was yesterday promised [that] there may be a consideration had of them—and I may speak it as in the presence of God that I know nothing of any Engagements, but I would see liberty in any man, as I would be free from bondage to anything that should hinder me from doing my duty—and therefore that was first in consideration. If our obligation be nothing, or if it be weak, I hope it will receive satisfaction why it should be laid aside, that the things that we speak of are not obliged. And therefore if it please you I think it will be good for us to frame our discourse to what we were, where we are, what we are bound to, what we are free to; and then I make no question but that this may conclude what is between these gentlemen in one afternoon. I do not speak this to make obligations more than what they were before, but as before the Lord. You will see what they are[2] and when we look upon them we shall see if[3] we have been in a wrong way, and I hope it will call upon us for the more double diligence."

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[1] MS., "and they."

[2] MS., "any."

[3] The MS. inserts after "action," "I mean doing in that kind, doing in that sort," and after "here," "such kind of action, action of that nature."

[4] MS., "that upon."

Col. Rainborowe had hoped that the Committee was to decide whether the paper "did hold forth justice and righteousness," but if they were to spend ten days in discussing what engagements they had broken, or whether they had broken any or no, or what they had kept, he believed evil would overtake them before they had set upon the work at all; he therefore prayed that the agreement might be read and debated on, and that they would either accept it or think of some other way.

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[1] MS., "which however."

[2] Cromwell at this point seems to have produced the book of *Army Declarations*, printed by Matthew Simmons in September 1647. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[3] MS., "that."

Lieut.-Gen Cromwell: "I shall but offer this to you. Truly I hope that we may speak our hearts freely here; and I hope there is not such an evil amongst us as that we could or would exercise our wits or our cunning to veil over any doubleness of heart that may possibly be in us. I hope, having been in such a presence as we have been this day, we do not admit of such a thought as this into our hearts. And therefore if the speaking of that we did speak before, and to which I shall speak again, with submission to all that hear me—if the declining to consider this paper may have with any man a working[1] upon his spirit through any jealousy that it aims at delay; truly I can speak it as before the Lord, it is not at all in my heart, but sincerely this is the ground of it. I know this paper doth contain many good things in it, but this is the only thing that doth stick with me, the desiring to know my freedom to this thing. Though this doth suggest that that may be the bottom of all our evils—and I will not say against it because I do not think against it—though this doth suggest the bottom of all our evils, yet for all of us to see ourselves free to this [so] as we may unanimously join upon this, either to agree to this or to add more to it, [or] to alter as we shall agree, this impediment lies in our way [even] if every man be satisfied with it but myself: That this is the first thing that is to be considered, that we should consider in what condition we stand to our former obligations, that if we be clear we may go off clear, if not, we may not go on. If I be not come off [clear] with what obligations are made, if I be not free to act to whatsoever you shall agree upon, I think this is my duty; that I should not in the least study either to retard your work or hinder it, or to act against it, but wish you as much success as if I were free to act with you. I desire we may view over our obligations and engagements, that so we may be free, upon honest and clear grounds, if this be [possible]."

Col Rainborowe: "My desire——"

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I have but one word to prevent you in, and that is for imminent danger. It may be possibly so [imminent] that [it] may not admit of an hour's debate, nor nothing of delay. If that be so, I think that's above all law and rule to us."

Col. Rainborowe urged that they should read the paper and not at this time consider the engagements.

Com. Cowling declared the necessity of expedition, especially considering the state of the army, now upon free quarters.

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[1] MS., "work."

Major White[1] thought that any particular engagements should yield to the public good.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I desire to know what the gentleman means concerning particular engagements; if he means those that are in this book? If those that are in this book [they are the engagements of the army]. But if he means engagements personal from particular persons, let every man speak for himself. I speak for myself, I disavow all, and I am free to act, free from any such——"

Major White: If they be such as are passed by the Representative [*i.e.*, the General Council] of the army, the army is bound to go on with them.

Col. Hewson: All the engagements declared for have been by the Representative of the army, and are the cause of the cloud now hanging over their heads.

Mr. Pettus proposed that the agreement might be read, and that "when any of the matter shall come to touch upon any engagement" so as to break it, then the engagement might be shown and debated.

Com.-Gen. Ireton declared that he himself was not personally or privately engaged in any way, and if he was he would not let his engagements stand in any man's way. Nor did he care for the engagements of the army so much for their own sake as for the army's, which had hitherto carried on the interests of God and His people, and must not now incur the scandal of neglecting engagements and of deceiving the world, giving occasion to think that they are the disturbers of the peace of mankind. He agreed to the plan of reading the paper first, taking into consideration its relation to their engagements amongst other things afterwards.

After a few words from **Col. Rainborowe**, the Agreement was read, and a long debate followed upon the first Article, the supporters of which demanded manhood suffrage.

This was opposed by **Ireton**, whose view was that "no person hath a right to an interest or share in the disposing or determining the affairs of the kingdom, and in choosing those that shall determine what laws we shall be ruled by here . . . that hath not a permanent fixed interest in this kingdom . . . that is the persons in whom all land lies, and those in corporations in whom all trading lies." He desired equal electoral districts and agreed to an extension of the franchise, but believed that manhood suffrage would be subversive of all rights of property and a taking away of the "fundamental Civil Constitution" of the kingdom.

Col. Rainborowe argued hotly in favour of the Article, and at length declared that Ireton and his party not only believed that they [the proposers of the agreement] were for anarchy, but wished to make all the world believe it too.

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[1] Mr. Firth points out that this can hardly be Major Francis White, as he had been expelled from the Council.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I know nothing but this, that they that are the most yielding have the greatest wisdom; but really, Sir, this is not right as it should be. No man says that you have a mind to anarchy, but the consequence of this rule tends to anarchy, must end in anarchy; for where is there any bound or limit set if you take away this [limit] that men that have no interest but the interest of breathing [shall have no voice in elections]. Therefore I am confident on't we should not be so hot one with another."

The debate continued, being chiefly a duel between **Ireton** and **Rainborowe**, the former being supported by **Col. Rich**, the latter by **Mr. Pettus**, **Com. Cowling**, **Mr. Wildman** and **Mr. Sexby**. **Sexby** declared that they—the soldiers—had risked their lives to recover their birthrights, and now they were told that "except a man hath a fixed estate in this kingdom, he hath no right in this kingdom." He wondered they were so much deceived. If they had no rights in the kingdom, they were mere mercenary soldiers. But they have as much a birthright as those two [Cromwell and Ireton] who are their lawgivers, and he is resolved to give up his birthright to no man. The poor and the mean of the kingdom have been the means of its preservation; they are as free from anarchy as their opposers, and they will not lose that which they have contended for.

Hugh Peters apparently desired a compromise, being "clear the point of elections should be amended."

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I confess I was most dissatisfied with that I heard Mr. Sexby speak of any man here, because it did savour so much of will. But I desire that all of us may decline that, and if we meet here really to agree to that which was for the safety of the kingdom, let us not spend so much time in such debates as these are, but let us apply ourselves to such things as are conclusive, and that shall be this: Everybody here would be willing that the Representative might be mended, that is, it might be better than it is. Perhaps it may be offered in that paper[1] too lamely. If the thing be insisted upon [as] too limited, why perhaps there are a very considerable part of copyholders by inheritance that ought to have a voice, and there may be somewhat too, reflects upon the generality of the people. I know our debates are endless. If we think to bring it to an issue this way, and I think if you do [desire to] bring this to a result,[2] it were well if we may resolve upon a committee.[3] If I cannot be satisfied to go so far as these gentlemen that bring this paper (I say it again), I profess I shall freely and willingly withdraw myself, and I hope to do it in such a manner that the army shall see that I shall, by my withdrawing, satisfy the interest of the army, the public interest of the kingdom and those ends these men aim at."

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[1] "That paper" is the *Heads of the Proposals*, "this paper," the *Agreement* now presented.

[2] Clause transposed from end of the speech.

[3] "Cromwell in difficulties generally moved for a Committee."—Mr. Firth, Preface to 3rd vol. of *Clarke Papers*.

Col. Rainborowe had heard nothing yet to satisfy him. He was not against a committee, and would be as ready as any one to draw back if he saw that what he wished would destroy the kingdom; but until he did see that he should refuse to sell his birthright.

Mr. Sexby thought it a miserable thing that they had fought all this time for nothing. If he [Cromwell] had advertised them of it, he would have had fewer men under his command. And as to putting off this question and going to another, the army would settle upon no other until this was done. Was loath to make divisions, but unless this was put to a question, he despaired of an issue.

Capt. Clarke urged moderation, not making reflections upon each other, but with "droppings of love" upon one another's hearts.

Capt. Awdeley complained that apparently the dispute was going to last until the 10th [*i.e.*, the Ides] of March. They [the two disputing parties] had brought things into a fair pass, and if their reasons were not satisfied and every one did not fetch water from their wells, they threatened to withdraw. Wished they might all rise and go to their duties.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "Really for my own part I must needs say, whiles we say we would not make reflections we do make reflections; and if I had not come hither with a free heart to do that that I was persuaded in my conscience is my duty I should a thousand times rather have kept myself away. For I do think I had brought upon myself the greatest sin that I was [ever] guilty of if I should have come to have stood before God in that former duty without saying that[1] which I did say and shall persevere to say, that I cannot against my conscience do anything.

"They that have stood so much for liberty of conscience, if they will not grant that liberty to every man, but say it is a deserting I know not what—if that be denied me, I think there is not that equality that [is] professed to be amongst us.[2] I said this and I say no more, but[1] make your businesses as well as you can, we might bring things to an understanding, it was to be brought to a fair composure, and when you have said, if you should put this paper to the question without any qualifications I doubt whether it would pass so freely, if we would have no difference we ought to put it; and let me speak clearly and freely, I have heard other gentlemen do the like, I have not heard the Commissary General answered, not in a part to my knowledge, not in a tittle, if therefore when I see there is an extremity of difference between you, to the end it may be brought nearer to a general satisfaction, and if this be thought a deserting of that interest, if there can be anything more sharply said, I will not give it an ill word. Though we should be satisfied in our consciences in what we do, we are told we purpose to leave the army or to leave our commands as if we took upon us to do it in matter of will. I did hear some gentlemen speak more of will than anything that was spoken this way, for more was spoken by way of will than of satisfaction, and if there be not a more equality in our minds, I can but grieve for it, I must do no more."

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[1] MS., "and if that my saying."

[2] Compare with these remarks about freedom of conscience a similar passage in Speech III. (vol. ii. p. 383). "The remainder of this speech is simply a chaos of detached phrases from different sentences. The argument seems to be, 'If you claim liberty to follow your consciences, but will not grant me liberty to follow mine, there is no equality between us. Though we conscientiously believe that under certain circumstances we ought to resign our commands, you taunt us as if

After further arguments from IRETON, RAINBOROWE and PETTUS.

LIEUT.-GEN. CROMWELL: "Here's the mistake; [the whole question is] whether that's the better Constitution in that paper or that which is [now]. But if you will go upon such a ground as that although a better Constitution was offered for the removing of the worse, yet some gentlemen are resolved to stick to the worse, there might be a great deal of prejudice upon such an apprehension. I think you are by this time satisfied that it is a clear mistake; but it is a dispute[2] whether or no this be better; nay, whether it be not destructive to the kingdom."

During the further discussion which followed, LIEUT. CHILLENDEN moved that according to the Lieut.-General's motion, a committee might be chosen; CAPT. AWDELEY explained that his complaints against delay were not only against Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell and the Commissary General but against all "that would dispute till we have our throats cut." He would die in asserting that it is the right of every free-born man to elect.

IRETON again protested against altering the Constitution, and de-

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we were following our wills instead of our consciences and accuse us of deserting the cause. Can anything be more harshly said.' In answer to Sexby's demand for an immediate vote Cromwell again proposes that the question should be referred to a committee to try to make a fair compromise." (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[1] "that" in MS.

[2] *i.e.*, it is disputable.

clared that if there were any thing that was a foundation of liberty at all, it was "that those who shall chose the law-makers shall be men freed from dependance upon others."

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "If we should go about to alter these things, I do not think that we are bound to fight for every particular proposition. Servants while servants are not included. Then you agree that he that receives alms is to be excluded."

Mr. Everard said he came from the agents of the five regiments in consequence of the Lieut.-General's desire for an understanding, who had prayed them to show their wish for unity by coming. He was marvellously taken up with the plainness of the Lieut.-General's carriage, and although he was warned by some that they would be kept in debate and dispute until all would go to ruin, he said "I will bring them to you. You shall see if their hearts be so; for my part I see nothing but plainness and uprightness of heart made manifest to you." The one thing in which they differed was that the other party conceived that this debating and disputations would do the work, while they believed they must put themselves into the privileges which they wanted.

Sir Hardress Waller agreed with the last speaker that disputings would not do the thing, and thought they should let all the powers, "Parliament or King or whoever they are," know "that these are our rights and if we have them not we must get them the best way we can."

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I think you say very well, and my friend at my back [Everard], he tells me that [there] are great fears abroad, and they talk of some things such as are not only specious to take a great many people with, but real and substantial, and such as are comprehensive of that that hath the good of the kingdom in it. Truly if there be never so much desire of carrying on these things [together] never so much desire of conjunction, yet if there be not liberty of speech to come to a right understanding of things, I think it shall be all one as if there were no desire at all to meet. I may say it with truth that I verily believe there is as much reality and heartiness amongst us [as amongst you] to come to a right understanding, and to accord with that that hath the settlement of the kingdom in it. Though when it comes to particulars we may differ in the way, yet I know nothing but that every honest man will go as far as his conscience will let him, and he that will go further I think he will fall back. And I think when that principle is written in the hearts of us, and when there is not hypocrisy in our dealings, we must all of us resolve upon this, that 'tis God that persuades the heart; if there be a doubt of sincerity, it's the devil that created that effect; and 'tis God that gives uprightness, and I hope with such an heart that we have all met withal; if we have not, God find him out that came without it, for my part I do it."

This was Cromwell's last contribution to the debate, which ended with a warm defence by Ireton of the conduct of the officers and of the views contained in the "Heads of the Proposals of the Army."

Next day the Committee of Officers and Agitators resolved on certain articles concerning the duration, succession and constitution of future Parliaments, one of which provided for equal electoral districts and gave the franchise to all freeborn English or free denizens of England who had served or assisted Parliament during the war.

(3) *At the Meeting of the General Council of the Army on November* 1

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell first moved that every one might speak their experiences as the issue of what God had given in answer to their prayers.

Capt. Allen[1] made a speech expressing the experiences of himself and other godly people: that the work that was before them was to take away the negative voice of the King and Lords.

Capt. John Carter, Commissary Cowling and **Lieut.-Col. Henry Lilburne** gave their experiences.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "To that which hath been moved concerning the negative vote, or things which have been delivered in papers and otherwise may present a real pleasing:—I do not say that they have all pleased, for I think that the King is King by contract, and I shall say as Christ said, 'Let him that is without sin cast the first stone'; and mind that word of bearing one with another; it was taught us to-day. If we had carried it on in the Parliament and by our power without any things laid on [us of] that kind, so that we could say that we were without transgression, I should then say it were just to cut off transgressors, but considering that we are in our own actions failing in many particulars, I think there is much necessity of pardoning of transgressors. [illegible]

"For the actions that are to be done and those that must do them: I think it is their proper place to conform to the Parliament that first gave them their being; and I think it is considerable[2] whether they do contrive to suppress the power of that power or no. If they do continue [? contrive] to suppress them, how they can take the determination of commanding men, conducting men, quartering men, keeping guards, without an authority otherwise than from themselves, I am ignorant of. And therefore I think there is much need in the army to conform to those things that are within their sphere. For those things that have been done in the army,—as this of the *Case of the Army truly Stated*—there is much in it useful and to be condescended to, but I am not satisfied how far we shall press [it]. Either they are a Parliament or no Parliament. If they be no Parliament, they are nothing and we are nothing likewise.[1] If they be a Parliament, we are to offer it to it. If I could see a visible presence of the people, either by subscriptions or number, [I should be satisfied with it]; for in the government of nations that which is to be looked after is the affections of the people, and that I find which satisfies my conscience in the present thing.

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[1] Francis Allen, of Ingoldsby's regiment; Major Allen of Berkshire. Thurloe, iv. 285. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[2] "Considerable," *i.e.*, "to be considered of." The sense seems to be: "I think they ought to consider whether they intend to suppress the royalists (?) by the

[Consider the case of the Jews.] They were first [divided into] families where they lived, and had heads of families [to govern them], and they were [next] under judges, and [then] they were under kings. When they came to desire a king, they had a king; first elective, and secondly by succession. In all these kinds of government they were happy and contented. If you make the best of it, if you should change the government to the best of it, it is but a moral[2] thing. It is but as Paul says 'dross and dung in comparison of Christ';[3] and when[4] we shall so far contest for temporal things that[5] if we cannot have this freedom we will venture life and livelihood for it; when every man shall come to this condition, I think the State shall come to desolation. Therefore the considering of what is fit for the kingdom does belong to the Parliament—well composed in their creation and election—how far, I shall leave it to the Parliament to offer it. There may be care,—That the elections or forms of Parliament are very illegal, as I could name but one, for a corporation to choose two. I shall desire that there

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power of the Parliament." (*Note by Mr. Firth.*) But it would seem that it was the suppression of the power of Parliament against which Cromwell was arguing rather than that of the royalists, in which case the sense probably is: "whether they are contriving to suppress the exercise of power by that (Parliamentary) power or no."

[1] Because the Parliament gave us our being. See p. 372 above.

[2] Possibly should be "small."

[3] Philippians iii. 8.

[4] MS., "why."

[5] MS., "yet."

may be a form for the electing of Parliaments. And another thing is[1] the perpetuity of the Parliament, that there is no assurance to the people but that it is perpetual, which does satisfy the kingdom[2] and for other things that are to the King's negative vote, as may cast you off wholly, it hath been the resolution of the Parliament and of the army. If there be a possibility of the Parliament's offering those things to the King that may secure us, I think there is much may be said for the doing of it.

"As for the present condition of the army, I shall speak somewhat of it. For the conduct of the army, I perceive there are several declarations from the army, and disobligations to the General's order, by calling rendezvous and otherwise. I must confess I have a commission from the General and I understand that [*i.e.* what] I am to do by it. I shall conform to him according to the rules and discipline of war, and according to those rules I ought to be conformable;[3] and therefore I conceive it is not in the power of any particular men or any particular man in the army to call a rendezvous of a troop or regiment or [in the] least[4] to disoblige the army from those commands of the general. This way is destructive to the army and to every particular man in the army. I have been informed by some of the King's party that if they give us rope enough we will hang ourselves. [We shall hang ourselves] if we do not conform to the rules of war, and therefore I shall move what we shall centre upon. If it have but the face of authority, if it be but a hare swimming over the Thames, he will take hold of it, rather than let it go."[5]

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[1] MS., "as."

[2] Sentence transposed. Cromwell's argument may be thus summed up: "Leave the settlement of government to Parliament, but provide that Parliament be rightly constituted. There may be care taken that future Parliaments be well composed, as to their creation and election. Elections to Parliament are sometimes illegal, as for instance for corporations to choose two. I shall desire that there may be a form for the electing of Parliament. Another thing to be provided against is the perpetuity of the same Parliament; there is no security, at present, that it shall not be perpetual." The policy advocated is that set forth in the Army Declaration of June 14. Compare Cromwell's remarks on pp. 368, 370 above. (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[3] Sir William Waller said of Cromwell: "Although he was blunt, he did not bear himself with pride or disdain. As an officer he was obedient, and did never dispute my orders or argue upon them." *Recollections* by Sir William Waller (p. 125).

[4] MS., "at least."

[5] Cromwell's general meaning is plain enough, though the illustration he uses is difficult to understand. The army, he urges, must have some civil authority to support it, therefore it ought to own the authority of the Parliament. He would lay hold of any commission from Parliament, any simulacrum of authority, any-

After speeches from Chillenden, Allen and Lieut.-Col. Jubbes, Rainborowe moved that the papers of the Committee might be read.

Lieut.-Col. Goffe: "I think that motion that was made by the Lieut.-General should not die, but that it should have some issue. I think it is a vain thing to seek God if we do not hearken after His answer, and something that was spoken by the Lieut.-General moves me to speak at this time, and that was upon this ground. It was concluded by the Lieut.-General upon what was spoken by one here that that was not the mind of God that was spoken by him. I could wish we might be wary of such expressions." God hath spoken in several ages in sundry ways. A prophet would come and say upon his bare word that he had received such a message from the Lord. Now He speaks not by one man but in all our hearts, and it is a dangerous thing to refuse what comes from God.

It seems to me clear that a voice from heaven has told us that we have sinned against the Lord by tampering with His enemies; I desire that we may wait upon God and see if He hath not spoken to us, and if the Lord hath spoken to us, I pray God keep us from that sin, that we do not hearken to the voice of the Lord.

Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell: "I shall not be unwilling to hear God speaking in any; but I think that God may [as well] be heard speaking in that which is to be read as otherwise.[1] But I shall speak a word to[2] that which Lieut.-Col. Goffe said, because it seems to come as a reproof to me, and I shall be willing to receive a reproof when it shall be in love and shall be [so] given. That which he speaks was, that at such a meeting as this we should wait upon God and [hearken to] the voice of God speaking in any of us. I confess it is an high duty, but when anything is spoken [as from God] I think the rule is, Let the rest judge.[3] It is left to me to judge for my own satisfaction, and the satisfaction of others, whether it be of the Lord or not, and I do no more. I do not judge conclusively, negatively, that it was not of the Lord, but I do desire to submit it to all your judgments whether it was of the Lord or no. I did offer some reasons which did satisfy me, I know not whether I did others. If in those things we do speak and pretend to speak from

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thing that came from Westminster, from the other side of the Thames. Possibly the illustration was suggested by the story of the multitude of rats swimming over the Tweed which is told in a newsletter of Sept. 1647. (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. App. 39.) (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[1] The papers of the Committee, which Rainborowe had just moved to have read.

[2] MS., "in."

[3] Cromwell is perhaps referring to St. Paul's directions concerning those speaking in unknown tongues and prophesying. See 1 Cor. xiv. 29.

God, there be mistakes of fact—if there be a mistake in the thing, in the reason of the thing—truly I think it is free for me to show both the one and the other, if I can. Nay, I think it is my duty to do it; for no man receives anything in the name of the Lord further than [to] the light of his conscience appears. I can say in the next place—and I can say it heartily and freely—as to the matter he speaks, I must confess I have no prejudice, not the least thought of prejudice upon that ground—I speak it truly as before the Lord—but this I think; that it is no ill advertisement to wish us in our speeches of righteousness and justice to refer us to any engagements that are upon us, and that which I have learnt in all [our] debates I have still desired, [that] we should consider where we are, and what engagements are upon us, and how we ought to go off as becomes Christians. This is all that I aimed at and I do aim at. I must confess I had a marvellous reverence and awe upon my spirit when we came to speak. [We said] let us speak one to another what God hath spoken to us;[1] and as I said before, I cannot say that I have received anything that I can speak as in the name of the Lord—not that I can say that anybody did speak that which was untrue in the name of the Lord—but upon this ground, that when we say we speak in 'the name of the Lord,' it is of an high nature."

Lieut.-Col. Goffe made an apology for what he had said before.

Mr. Allen thought the great difference between them was in the interest of King and Lords, some declaring against the name and title of King and Lords. As for the King, if the setting of him up be not consistent with, and is prejudicial to the liberties of the kingdom, then down with him; but if he might be so set up (as the speaker thought he might) then set him up; this being not only their judgment, but that of those who set forth the case of the army.

Col. Rainborowe objected that what Mr. Allen spoke reflected upon himself and some others, as if they were against the name of King and Lords.

Mr. Sexby: Truly the Lord has put you, or suffered you to run into such a state that you know not where you are. We find in the word of God "I would heal Babylon, but she would not be healed." I think we have gone about to heal Babylon when she would not. We have gone about to wash a Blackamore, to wash him white, which he will not. "I think we are going about to set up the power which God will destroy. We are going about to set up the power of Kings, some part of it, which God will destroy; and which will be but as a burdensome stone, that whosoever shall fall upon it, it will destroy him."

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[1] See p. 372 above.

Lieut-Gen. Cromwell:[1] I think we should not let go that motion which Lieut.-Col. Goffe made, and so I cannot but renew that caution that we should take heed what we speak in the name of the Lord. As for what that gentleman spoke last (but it was with too much confidence) I cannot conceive that he altogether meant it. I would we should all take heed of mentioning our own thoughts and conceptions with that which is of God. What this gentleman told us [was] that which [he conceived] was our great fault. He alludes to such a place of Scripture, "We would have healed Babylon but she would not." The gentleman applied it to us, as that we had been men that would have healed Babylon and God would not have had her healed. Truly though that be not the intent of that Scripture, yet I think it is true, that whosoever would have gone about to heal Babylon when God had determined [to destroy her] he does fight against God, because God will not have her healed. Indeed when we are convinced that it is Babylon we are going about to heal, I think it's fit we should then give over our healing; and yet certainly in general it is not evil to desire an healing. But since I hear no man offering nothing to speak to us as a particular dictate from God, I shall desire to speak a word or two.[2] I should desire to draw to some conclusion of that expectation of ours. Truly, as Lieut.-Col. Goffe said, God hath in several ages used several dispensations, and yet some dispensations more eminently in one age than another. I am one of those whose heart God hath drawn out to wait for some extraordinary dispensations, according to those promises that he hath held forth of things to be accomplished in the later time, and I cannot but think that God is beginning of them. Yet certainly [we do well to take heed] upon the same ground that we find in the epistle of Peter, where he speaks of the Scriptures as "a more sure word of prophecy" than their testimonies was, to which, says he, you do well to take heed, as a light shining in a dark place.[3] If, when we want particular and extraordinary impressions, we shall either altogether sit still because we have them not, and not follow that light that we have; or shall go against or short of that light that we have, upon the imaginary apprehension of such divine impressions and divine discoveries in particular things—which are not so divine as to carry their evidence with them, to the conviction of those that have the spirit of God within them—I think we shall be justly under a condemnation. Truly we have heard many speaking to us; and I cannot but think that in many of those things, God hath spoke to us. I cannot but think that in most that have spoke there have been some things of God made forth to us; and yet there hath been several contradictions in what hath been spoken. But certainly God is not the author of contradictions. The contradictions are not so much in the end as in the way. I cannot see but that we all speak to the same end, and the mistakes are only in the way. The end is to deliver this nation from oppression and slavery, to accomplish that work that God hath carried us on in, to establish our hopes of an end of justice and righteousness in it. We agree thus far. I think we may go thus far further, that we all apprehend danger from the power of the King and from the Lords. All that have spoke have agreed in this too, though the gentleman in the window[1] when he spoke [of] set[ting] up, if he should declare it, did not mean all that that word might import. I think that seems to be general among us all, that if it were free before us, whether we should set up one or other, there is not any intention of any in the army, of any of us, to set up the one [or the other]. I do to my best observation find an unanimity amongst us all that we would set up neither.[2] Thus far I find us to be agreed, and thus far as we are agreed, I think it is of God. But there are circumstances in which we differ as in relation to this. I must further tell you, that as we do not make it our business or intention to set up the one or the other, so neither is it [our intention] to preserve the one or the other with a visible danger and destruction to the people and the public interest. So that that part of difference that seems to be among us is whether there can be a preservation [of them with safety to the kingdom]. First of all, on the one part, there is this apprehension: that we cannot with justice and righteousness at the present destroy, or go about to destroy, or take away or [altogether] lay aside both, or all the interest they have in the public affairs of the kingdom; and those that do so apprehend would strain something in point of security, would rather leave some hazard—or at least if they see that they may consist without any considerable hazard to the interest of the kingdom, do so far [wish] to preserve them. On the other hand those that differ from this, I do take it in the most candid apprehension that they seem to run[1] thus: that there is not any safety or security to the liberty of the kingdom and to [the] public interest, if you do retain these at all; and therefore they think this a consideration to them paramount [to] the consideration of particular obligations of justice, or matter of right or due towards King or Lords. Truly I think it hath pleased God to lead me to a true and clear stating our agreement and our difference; and if this be so we are the better prepared to go [on]. If this be not so, I shall desire that any one that hath heard me [will] declare [it] if he do think that the thing is mis-stated as to our agreement or difference; and I shall go on, only in a word or two, to conclude that we have been about. As to the dispensations of God, it was more particular in the time of the law [of Moses than in the time of the law] written in our hearts, that word within us, the mind of Christ;[2] and truly when we have no other more particular impression of the power of God going forth with it, I think that this law and this [word] speaking within us —which truly is in every man who hath the spirit of God—we are to have a regard to; and this to me seems to be very clear what we are to judge of the apprehensions of men to particular cases, whether it be of God or no. When it doth not carry its evidence of the power of God with it, to convince us clearly, our best way is to judge the conformity or disformity of [it with] the law written within us, which is the law of the spirit of God, the mind of God, the mind of Christ. As was well said by Lieut.-Colonel Jubbs, for my part I do not know any outward evidence of what proceeds from the spirit of God more clear than this, the appearance of meekness and gentleness and mercy and patience and forbearance and love, and a desire to do good to all and to destroy none that can be saved,[3] and as he said of the spirit of malice and envy and things of that nature, I cannot but take that to be contrary to this law. For my part I say, where I do see this, where [? there] I do see men speaking according to that law, which I am sure is the law of the spirit of life, and I think there is this radically in that heart where there is such a law, or leads us against all opposition. On the other hand I think that he that would decline the doing of justice—where there is no place for mercy,—and the exercise of the ways of force for the safety of the kingdom where there is no other way to save it; and would decline these out of the apprehensions of danger and difficulties in it, he that leads that way on the other hand doth truly lead us from that which is the law of the spirit of life, the law written in our hearts. And truly having thus declared what we may apprehend of all that hath been said, I shall wish that we may go on to our business; and I shall only add several cautions on the one hand and the other.

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[1] When Wildman criticises this speech, Ireton is said to reply to him, as if he had been the speaker. But the whole speech is so extremely like Cromwell and so utterly unlike Ireton; the involved strain of religious argument—of which Cromwell was so fond—is so different from Ireton's clear, sharp, business-like way of speaking, that it is impossible not to believe that Cromwell was the speaker. Besides, his opening words, "I cannot but renew the caution that we should take heed what we speak in the name of the Lord" clearly refer to the beginning of Cromwell's last speech, "I shall not be unwilling to hear God speaking in any." Ireton had never said a word about anything of the sort. As to the two short subsequent answers, it is probable that they are attributed to the Commissary-General by mistake and were really made by Cromwell.

[2] Several words transposed.

[3] 2nd Peter i. 19.

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[1] Allen.

[2] *i.e.*, neither King nor Lords.

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[1] *i.e.*, argue.

[2] Hebrews viii. 10; 1 Corinthians ii. 16. So Cromwell elsewhere observes of certain things that they are 'written in better books than those of paper; written, I am persuaded, in the heart of every good man.' See Speech II. (vol. ii. p. 341). (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

[3] *Cf.* Speech I. (vol. ii. pp. 292, 297).

"I could wish that none of those whose apprehensions run on the other hand,—that there can be no safety in a consistency with the person of the King or the Lords, or their having the least interest in the public affairs of the kingdom,—I do wish them that they will take heed of that which some men are apt to be carried away by, [that is], apprehensions that God will destroy these persons or that power; for that they may mistake in. And though [I] myself do concur with them, and perhaps concur with them upon some ground that God will do so, yet let us [not] make those things to be our rule which we cannot so clearly know to be the mind of God. I mean in particular things let us not make those our rules that this is to be done, [this] is the mind of God, we must work to it.[1] At least let those to whom this is not made clear, though they do think it probable that God will destroy them, yet let them make this rule to themselves, though God have a purpose to destroy them, and though I should find a desire to destroy them—though a Christian spirit can hardly find it for itself—yet God can do it without necessitating us to do a thing which is scandalous, or sin, or which would bring a dishonour to His name; and therefore let those that are of that mind wait upon God for such a way when the thing may be done without sin, and without scandal too. Surely what God would have us do, He does not desire we should step out of the way for it. This is the caution, on the one hand that we do no wrong to one or other, and that we abstain from all appearance of wrong, and for that purpose avoid the bringing of a scandal to the name of God and to His people upon whom His name is called. On the other hand, I have but this to say: That those who do apprehend obligations lying upon them—either by a general duty or particularly in relation to the things that we have declared, a duty of justice, or a duty in regard of that engagement—that they would clearly come to this resolution, that if they found in their judgments and consciences that those engagements lead to anything which really cannot consist with the liberty and safety and public interest of this nation, they would account the general [duty] paramount [to] the other, so far as not to oppose any other that would do better for the nation than they will do. If we do act according to that mind and that spirit and that law which I have before spoken of, and in these particular cases do take these two cautions, God will lead us to what shall be His way, as many of us as He shall incline their minds to, and the rest in their way in a due time."

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[1] *Cf.* Cromwell's speech on p. 336 above.

Capt. Bishop declared that the endeavour to preserve the King—"that man of blood"—was the cause that the kingdom was in a dying condition.

Mr. Wildman followed, in answer to the speech of "that gentleman that spoke last but one" (*i.e.* the speech of Cromwell above) and, in answer to his criticisms, there are two short explanations, attributed in the MS. to the "Com.-Gen.," but which must have been made by the Lieut.-General if the speech above is his, *viz.* :—

1. That he did not speak of destroying the King and the Lords—he had not heard any man charge all the Lords as deserving punishment—but of reserving any interest to them in the public affairs of the kingdom: and
2. That he had said that some men did apprehend that an interest might be given to the King and Lords with safety, while others thought that it could not be done without destruction to the kingdom.

It is evident that either the attribution of the long speech to Cromwell or of these two short observations to Ireton is a mistake, and the style shows the latter to be far the more likely of the two.

The debate went on for a long time after this, the chief subject of it being the restrictions to be imposed on the House of Lords, but Cromwell did not speak again.

Other debates followed, of which we have only very scanty notices, and on the 5th (when Cromwell appears to have been absent) the party of the agitators carried a vote for a general rendezvous of the army.

(4) *At a Council of Officers, Putney, November* 8

The Lieut.-General spoke much to express the danger of their principles who had sought to divide the army; that the first particular of that which they called the Agreement of the People did tend very much to anarchy, [*i.e.*] that all those who are in the kingdom should have a voice in electing representatives.

Capt. William Bray made a long speech to take off what the Lieut.-General said, but Cromwell moved and carried a resolution praying the Lord General to send the representative officers and agitators back to their regiments until the rendezvous should be over.

A few days later, on the 11th, at the committee of officers, Harrison having declared that the King was "a man of blood" and ought to be prosecuted ;— [illegible]

The Lieut.-General answered him by putting several cases in which murder was not to be punished. As in the case if a man that had killed his son should get into a garrison, whether he might wage war, or not give conditions to that place. Stated the case of David upon Joab's killing of Abner, that he spared him upon two prudential grounds: one that he would not hazard the spilling of more blood, in regard the sons of Zeruiah were too hard for him.

Ireton "answered in the same case," and further urged that they were not to go in any unlawful way in order to bring a delinquent to justice; and

The Lieut.-General said that we [must not?] do the work where it is disputable and the work of others to do it, [but only] if it be an absolute and indisputable duty for us to do it.*

After a few words from **Fairfax** and **Cowling**, the debate closed, and on November 15 the first of the three rendezvous (which had been decided on instead of one general one) took place at Ware.

On the 8th of the following January, the great Council of the Army ceased to exist.

27

(Before Letter LII)

This letter was probably written at the time of the King's first plan of escape, fixed for December 28, 1647, when a ship was sent for him into Southampton water. The expression "am I forgotten" looks as if it were the opening letter of the series, and Hammond must have had, at this time, some authorisation concerning the King's attendants, as, on this date, he dismissed Ashburnham, Berkeley and Legge. It will be remembered that on this very day, the King had given his refusal to the four propositions sent him by Parliament, and that Berkeley had objected that the Governor might thereby be made more suspicious and vigilant, and so hinder their project. To this, the King replied that he would give in his answer sealed, and thus Hammond would not know its purport in time to hinder him. But the commissioners insisted on receiving it open ; Hammond, to the King's great indignation, read it, and the consequences which Berkeley had feared followed ; the guards were increased and the King's three most trusty, and therefore dangerous, companions were compelled to leave the castle.

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* *Clarke Papers*, i. 226 *et seq.*

For Col. Robin Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, these, at Carisbrook Castle, haste, post haste

[? December 1647.]

Dear Robin, am I forgotten?

Thou art not, I wish thee much comfort in thy great business, and the blessing of the Almighty upon thee.

This intelligence was delivered this day, *viz.*, that Sir George Cartwright[1] hath sent three boats from Jersey and a barque from Sharbrowe[2] under the name of Frenchmen, but are absolutely sent to bring the King (if their plot can take effect) from the Isle of Wight to Jersey, one of which boats is returned back to Jersey with news, but it is kept very private.

I wish great care be taken. Truly I would have the castle well manned ; you know how much lieth upon it. If you would have any thing more done let your friends know your mind ; they are ready to assist and secure you.

You have warrant now to turn out such servants as you suspect ; do it suddenly for fear of danger. You see how God hath honoured and blessed every resolute action of these [?] for Him ; doubt not but He will do so still.

Let the Parliament ships have notice of Cartwright's design that so they may look out for him.

I have no more but rest,

Your true servant,

O. Cromwell.*

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[1] Carteret.

[2] Cherbourg.

* Holograph. Amongst the MSS. of the Marquis of Lothian at Newbattle. Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, ii. xxv.

27

(Before Letter LIX)

At the beginning of May, 1648, Cromwell marched into Wales, to suppress the Royalist insurrection there. He was at Gloucester on the 8th, and marched by way of Monmouth to Chepstow, which he reached on the 11th. This and the following letter were therefore written from one of the first two of these places, probably Gloucester.

For his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, General: These

[Gloucester, ?] May 9, 1648.

My Lord,

You hear in what a flame these western parts are. I cannot but mind your Excellency that the enemy are designing to surprise many places and we shall still play the after-game. I think it of absolute necessity that some men be put into Bristol, especially since Chepstow is taken, with which (as I heard) they hold correspondency. Sir, Bristol must have a fixed garrison of foot. I beseech you recommend it to the Parliament, that it may be done, there cannot be less than 600 men for it. Lieut.-Col. Rolphe would be a fit man; he is able to give help in the business by his father Skippon his interest, and it would be well taken if your Lordship would recommend him; there is necessity of speed in my opinion, the city desire it. I take leave and rest,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

O. Cromwell.

Postscript. My Lord, Lieut.-Col. Blackmore is with me; he is a godly man and a good soldier. I beg a commission to make him an adjutant-general to the army. He is very able, as most ever were in this army.*

Endorsed by William Clarke.

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* Holograph. *Egerton MSS.*, 2620, f. 1. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1887. Cromwell's request concerning Blackmore was complied with, but it does not appear that Rolph was made governor of Bristol. He was at this time in the Isle of Wight, and was accused, two or three weeks afterwards (though probably without foundation) of a design to assassinate the King under pretext of helping him to escape. He was senior officer in charge (after Hammond's departure) at the time that Fairfax sent Cobbet and Merryman to remove the King to Hurst Castle, and is said to have tried to force his way into the royal coach. "It has not come to that yet; get you out," said the King, as he called his own attendants to him. See Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 199.

20

To Mr. (Capt. Thomas) Roberts[1]

[Gloucester?], May 9, 1648.

Mr. Roberts,

Being informed that divers Papists and delinquents do gather themselves together upon pretence of hunting meetings, giving out dangerous speeches, riding up and down armed to the hazard of the peace of this kingdom, I do desire and authorise you to gather to you such of your friends and persons well affected to the Parliament's cause, and attach them, causing them to be brought to Gloucester, that there they may be secured until the pleasure of the Parliament be further known. I rest your friend and servant,

O. Cromwell.

Underneath—Writ of Assistance

I desire you from time to time to give such assistance to Captain Thomas Roberts in suppressing insurrections and tumults, and apprehending suspected persons, as he shall desire from you.

Given under my hand this ninth day of May, 1648.

Oliver Cromwell.

To all officers, horse and foot, under the General the Lord Fairfax.* Enclosed in petition to the Protector by Roberts, May 25, 1655.

[illegible]

To Captain Crowther[2]

Cardiff, May 16, 1648.

Sir,

I received both yours this morning, and cannot but acknowledge your great forwardness to serve the public. I have here enclosed sent you an order for the taking up of vessels for the transporting of soldiers and the oats of the horses. My men shall be at the water-side tomorrow. If they can provide victuals, they shall.

---

[1] Of the Gloucestershire Militia.

[2] Vice-Admiral John Crowther.

* Holograph. *S. P. Dom, Interregnum*, c. 117. i.

If not I shall give you notice that we may bring it out of your vessels.

Sir,
I remain,
Your very humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.*

30

(AFTER LETTERS LX and LXI)

From the Leaguer before Pembroke

(1) *To Col. William Herbert*

1648, June 26.—Desiring him to quarter his troop in any part of Monmouthshire that he judges most advantageous for the public service. *Signed.*

(2) *To Col. Poyer*

Pembroke, July 10, 1648.

SIR,

I have (together with my Council of War) renewed my propositions, [and] I thought fit to send them to you with these alterations, which if submitted unto I shall make good. I have considered your condition, and my own duty; and (without threatening) must tell you that if (for the sake of some) this offer be refused, and thereby misery and ruin befall the poor soldiers and people with you, I know where to charge the blood you spill. In case this offer be refused, send no more to me about this subject.

I rest your servant,
O. CROMWELL. †

THIS was the last summons to Pembroke Castle, which surrendered the following day; Col. Poyer and certain of his officers at mercy; the rest of the garrison upon terms.

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* Printed in *A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire* (p. 98), edited for the Chetham Society by W. Beaumont, who states that the original letter is preserved at Wincham in Cheshire.

† *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 81 (E. 525). Printed in J. Roland Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, i. 414.

31

(Before Letter LXIII)

After settling South Wales, Cromwell turned northward with his forces to aid Lambert in repelling the Scottish invasion under the Duke of Hamilton. While crossing the hills between Yorkshire and Lancashire, a complaint was brought to him which produced the following order, written either at Skipton or somewhere on the road between Knaresborough and that place.

1648, August 14.—Order—upon information that Lieutenant Swayne of Captain Cooke's troop, has taken two horses of great value from Captain William Harrison—that the horses be instantly delivered to the bearer, and that Captain Cooke "see this order duly observed."

Certified as a true copy of the original "which Captain Cooke read over," by Abraham Burton, Tho. Staveley, and Timothy Hurst, Leeds, Aug. 15, 1648.*

32

(Before Letter LXIX)

On Cromwell's march to Scotland after Preston fight he stopped for a day or two at Durham (see Declaration after Letter LXVIII) and there wrote the following letter, which may perhaps have relation to the case of Mrs. Cowell and her children, mentioned in Letter LXIX.

[*No address*]

Duresme, September 7, 1648.

Sir,

The enclosed petition coming to my hands, I could not but recommend it to you, as being the fittest instrument to do them right, being near to information which will lead you to what will be most fit to be done. I desire therefore you would please to give them their desires in the petition, as being in my opinion very just.

I remain,
Your very humble servant,
O. Cromwell. †

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* From the Collection of Sir Richard Tangye.

† Signed by Cromwell. From the Collection of Sir Richard Tangye.

33

(After Letter LXXIX)

Cromwell's expedition to Scotland having successfully resulted in the restoration of the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle (see Letter LXXVII) he was now on his way to the siege of Pontefract. He visited Carlisle on October 14 to take formal possession of the Castle.

To Colonel Thomas Barwis

1648, October 25, Bernard Castle.—Ordering him to repair to Carlisle and take command of the regiment of horse lately raised in Westmorland, employing the said regiment for the service of the garrison of Carlisle, and the security of those parts, and for the quelling of all insurrections in Westmorland and Cumberland; and acting under the orders of Sir Arthur Hesilrige.*

34

(Before Letter LXXX)

[*To Col. Charles Fairfax*]

Byron, Nov. 2, at 8 at night.

Sir,

Being informed by Sir Edward Rodes this evening that there is a party of the enemy's horse gone out of Pontefract Castle, and having some apprehension that they will attempt somewhat upon the horse-guard in the park by coming upon their rear, I desire you that you would send to their assistance five files of musketeers, who will give them time to mount their horses if the enemy shall attempt upon them with horse and foot. I desire you to send the commander of the guard there this enclosed note. Not having more, I rest

Your affectionate servant,

O. Cromwell. †

35

The following letter was first printed by Mr. Firth in the *Clarke Papers.* His note upon it is as follows:—

"A copy of this letter is contained in vol. xvi. of the *Clarke Papers* at Worcester College, where it is signed 'Heron brother,' and no indication is given of the person to whom it was sent. I concluded it from internal evidence to be written by Cromwell to Robert Hammond. Some letters from Cromwell to Hammond were mentioned in the *First Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 116, as being in the possession of the Marquis of Lothian. Mr. Gardiner, at my request, examined these letters last summer, and has kindly supplied me with copies. . . . 'Dear Robin' is the term by which Cromwell, Ireton and other intimate friends usually address Hammond. In this letter, Cromwell also makes use of the names which he sometimes employed in his correspondence with Vane and one or two others. 'Brother Heron' is the younger Vane. 'Brother Fountayne' is Cromwell himself (see Nickoll's *Original Letters and Papers addressed to Oliver Cromwell*, 1743, pp. 78, 84). 'Sir Roger' seems to have been one of Cromwell's companions in Scotland, possibly Lambert or Hesilrige. Hesilrige and Cromwell had just been entertained at Edinburgh by the Argyle party (see Whitelocke, *Memorials*, ed. 1853, II. 422, 432). Cromwell defends himself against the charge of granting too favourable terms to the Scots, or as he puts it, 'turning Presbyterian.' The 'wise friend' is probably Pierrepoint, as Mr. Gardiner suggests. Pierrepoint and Vane were both now at Newport, as two of the Commissioners sent by Parliament to negotiate with the King. Both were probably in daily intercourse with Hammond. 'It appears from this letter,' writes Mr. Gardiner, 'that Cromwell had heard that a party amongst the Independents, including Vane, Pierrepoint and Hammond, in their alarm at the thoroughgoing reforms demanded by the Levellers, were anxious to come to an understanding with the King on the basis of moderate Episcopacy and toleration. It was to this state of opinion that he now addressed himself.' (*Great Civil War*, iv. 248.)"

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* Signed. Seal of arms. From the original in the possession of Captain Charles Lindsay. Mentioned in Waylen's *House of Cromwell*, 1st edition, p. 274.

† From the original, signed, in the Collection of Sir Richard Tangye.

To Col. Hammond

Knottingley, Nov. 6th, 1648.

DEAR ROBIN,

I trust the same spirit that guided thee heretofore is still with thee; look to thy heart, thou art where temptations multiply. I fear lest our friends should burn their fingers, as some others did not long since,[1] whose hearts have ached since for it. How easy is it to find arguments for what we would have; how easy to take offence at things called Levellers, and run into an extremity on the other hand, meddling with an accursed thing.[2] Peace is only good when we receive it out of our Father's hand, it's dangerous to snatch it, most dangerous to go against the will of God to attain it. War is good when led to by our Father, most evil when it comes from the lusts that are in our members. We wait upon the Lord, who will teach us and lead us whether to doing or suffering.[1]

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[1] "Probably alluding to his own and Ireton's efforts to win the King in 1647." (*Note by Dr. Gardiner.*)

[2] *Cf.* Letter of November 25 (LXXXV).

Tell my brother Herne I smiled at his expression concerning my wise friend's opinion, who thinks that the enthroning the King with presbytery brings spiritual slavery, but with a moderate Episcopacy works a good peace. Both are a hard choice. I trust there's no necessity of either, except our base unbelief and fleshly wisdom make it so; but if I have any logic it will be easier to tyrannise having that he[2] likes and serves his turn, than what you know and all believe he so much dislikes.

But as to my brother himself, tell him indeed I think some of my friends have advanced too far, and need make an honourable retreat, Scots treaties having wrought some perplexities; and hindering matters from going so glib as otherwise was hoped, especially taking in some doubts that Sir Roger and brother Fountayne are also turned Presbyterians. Dear Robin, tell brother Herne that we have the witness of our consciences that we have walked in this thing (whatsoever surmises are to the contrary) in plainness and godly simplicity, according to our weak measure, and we trust our daily business is to approve our consciences to Godward, and not to shift and shark,[3] which were exceeding baseness in us to do, having had such favour from the Lord, and such manifestations of His presence, and I hope the same experience will keep their hearts and hands from him, against whom God hath so witnessed,[4] though reason should suggest things never so plausible.

I pray thee tell my brother Herne thus much from me; and if a mistake concerning our compliance with presbytery perplex an evil business (for so I account it), and make the wheels of such a chariot go heavy, I can be passive and let it go, knowing that innocency and integrity loses nothing by a patient waiting upon the Lord. Our papers are public; let us be judged by them. Answers do not involve us.[5] I profess to thee I desire from my heart, I have prayed for it, I have waited for the day to see union and right understanding between the godly people (Scots, English, Jews, Gentiles, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and all). Our brothers of Scotland (really Presbyterians) were our greatest enemies. God hath justified us in their sight, caused us to requite good for evil, caused them to acknowledge it publicly by acts of state, and privately, and the thing is true in the sight of the sun. It is an high conviction upon them. Was it not fit to be civil, to profess love, to deal with clearness with them for removing of prejudice, to ask them what they had against us, and to give them an honest answer? This we have done, and not more. And herein is a more glorious work in our eyes than if we had gotten the sacking and plunder of Edinburgh, the strong castles into our hands, and made conquest from Tweed to the Orcades; and we can say, through God we have left by the grace of God such a witness amongst them, as if it work not yet[1] there is that conviction upon them that will undoubtedly bear its fruit in due time.

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[1] *Cf.* Letter II.

[2] *i.e.*, the King.

[3] Mr. Firth suggests "shirk" as an emendation. The spelling of the seventeenth century points to the conclusion that "e" (and the "i" here is equivalent to "e") before "r" was almost universally pronounced like "a," as it still is in "Derby," &c.

[4] The King. *Cf.* Letter LXXXV. "This man against whom the Lord hath witnessed."

[5] *i.e.*, We are bound by our own words, not by the answers made by the Scots. Dr. Gardiner suggests that Cromwell perhaps refers to the answer made by the Committee of Estates on October 6, in which they speak of "these covenanted kingdoms" (E. 468, 19).

Tell my brother Herne, I believe my wise friend would have had a conquest, or if not, things put in a balance;[2] the first was not very unfeasible, but I think not Christian, and I was commanded the contrary by the two Houses; as for the latter, by the providence of God it is perfectly come to pass, not by our wisdom, for I durst not design it, I durst not admit of so mixed, so low a consideration; we were led out (to the praise of our God be it spoken) to more sincere, more spiritual considerations; but I said before the Lord hath brought it to a balance; if there be any dangerous disproportion it is that the honest party (if I may without offence so call them) in my apprehension are the weaker, and have manifold difficulties to conflict withal. I wish our unworthiness here cast not the scale both there and here the wrong way. I have but one word more to say. Thy friends, dear Robin, are in heart and in profession what they were, have not dissembled their principles at all. Are they not a little justified in this, that a lesser party of a Parliament hath made it lawful to declare the greater part a faction, and made the Parliament null, and call a new one, and to do this by force, and this by the same mouths that condemned it in others.

Think of the example and of the consequence, and let others think of it too, if they be not drenched too deep in their one [own] reason and opinions. Robin, be honest still. God keep thee in the midst of snares. Thou hast naturally a valiant spirit. Listen to God, and He shall increase it upon thee, and make thee valiant for the truth. I am a poor creature that write to thee, the poorest in the work,[1] but I have hope in God, and desire from my heart to love His people, and if thou hast opportunity and a free heart, let me hear from thee how it is with thee. This bearer is faithful, you may be very free to communicate with him; my service to all my friends, and to my dear brother Herne whom I love in the Lord, I rest,

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[1] "By reason the poor souls are so wedded to their government." In the copy amongst the *Clarke MSS.*

[2] "*i.e.*, A mixed government established in which the Argyle and Hamilton parties would counterbalance each other." (*Note by Mr. Firth.*)

Thy true and faithful friend

Heron's Brother.*

This letter, Mr. Firth says, makes two points clear. "The first is Cromwell's deep distrust of the King and of any attempt to treat with him; the second is his desire to see 'union and right understanding' between Puritans of every sort. . . . The justification of the alliance with the Argyle party in Scotland expresses the views not merely of Cromwell himself, but probably of the majority of the superior officers of his army." Exactly the same sentiments are expressed in a letter from the headquarters in Scotland, signed J. L. and probably written by Lambert. *Clarke Papers*, ii., preface, p. xxiv.

36

(With Letter LXXX)

(1) *For the Honourable Col. Fairfax in Pontefract: These*

Nottingley (*sic*), Nov. 6, 1648.

Sir,

I did order a company of my Lord General's regiment to be with the guard of horse in the park this night, but finding it fit to dispose of that company to another place, I thought fit to desire of you that you would send six files of musketeers to the guard in the park this night in the room of the other. I shall have occasion also to remove one of the troops from the guard in the park to another place, wherefore I desire you that you would only retain twenty horse of the troop that is to do duty in the town, and send the rest to strengthen the guard of horse in the park. I hope within a night or two, now tools are come, we shall not put you to so much trouble. I rest, Sir,

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[1] "world," *Clarke MS.*

* From the MSS. of the Marquis of Lothian at Newbattle. Copy. Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, ii. 49.

Your affectionate servant,
O. Cromwell.*

(2) *For the Honourable Col. Fairfax at Pontefract: These*

Knottingley, Nov. 7th, 1648.

Sir,

I understand that one Richard Gagge and two boys of John Ward's (whose father is now in the Castle) were, upon their coming to Knottingley, apprehended and carried prisoners to Pontefract, upon suspicion that they were going into the Castle. The business being cleared up to me to the contrary, I desire you would set them at liberty, and to cause such things as were taken from them to be restored; which will very much oblige, Sir,

Your very humble servant,
O. Cromwell.*

(3) *For the Honourable Col. Charles Fairfax at Pontefract: These*

Knottingley, Nov. 10th, 1648.

Sir,

I have perused your letter. I am very sorry that your condition should be so strait. I pray you, strive with difficulties as far as you can, and for my part I will do what lies in me to get you supplied. I shall upon this occasion send expressly to the Committee for a fortnight's pay for you, and if I be denied I shall think I am not fairly dealt withal. I shall let them know that I think present money and nothing else will keep the men together. And truly, if that my lending of you a hundred pounds for the present will do you any service you shall have it in the morning if you please to send for it. I have written to Lincoln and Leicester to keep in Captain Jackson's and the other company of foot for a fortnight; their officers promised me they should perform duty as before until they had an answer. I desire you to send them this enclosed order. I take it not ill at all that you give only word, nor can I take anything ill at your hands, I pray you still account me

Your true and faithful friend and servant,
O. Cromwell.

Sir, I shall desire you to speed this letter by an express to York.*

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* From the original, signed, in the Collection of Sir Richard Tangye.

(4) *For the Honourable Col. Charles Fairfax, at Pontefract: These*

Knottingley, November 11th, 1648.

Sir,

The bearer has been with me, complains exceedingly of her poverty, as not able to get victuals for her family, and yet is forced to maintain sold[iers] much beyond her ability. I desire that what favour can be afforded her, you would do it, at the desire of

Your humble servant,
O. Cromwell*

(5) *For the Honourable Colonel Fairfax, in Pontefract: These*

Knottingley, November 11th, 1648.

Sir,

The bearer, Mrs. Gray, is desirous to go into the Castle to see a brother of her who lies sick in the Castle. I desire you would let her have a drum and give her your pass to return within a limited time. I rest, Sir,

your very humble servant,
O. Cromwell.*

37

(After Letter LXXXV)

The *Remonstrance of the Army*, framed by Ireton and accepted by the Council of Officers on November 18, 1648, was presented to Parliament on the 20th. It demanded that all negotiations with the King should be broken off, and that he should be brought to trial; that his "instruments" should be punished, and that the soldiers should be paid their arrears. On November 28 Fairfax wrote to Cromwell, urging him to come up at once to town. (See his letter, *Clarke Papers*, ii. 62.) The Remonstrance had been received by the Northern Army before the 25th, as is shown by Cromwell's letter to Hammond (Letter LXXXV).

For his Excellency the Lord-General Fairfax

November [after the 28th], 1648.

Sir,

We have read your declaration here, and see in it nothing but what is honest and becoming Christians and honest men to say and offer. It's good to look up to God, who alone is able to sway hearts to agree to the good and just things contained therein. I verily believe the honest party in Scotland will be satisfied in the justness thereof; however, it will be good that Will Rowe be hastened with instructions thither.

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* In William Clarke's handwriting, signed by Cromwell. Original in the possession of Sir Richard Tangye, and a photograph of it given in his *Two Protectors*.

I beseech you command him (if it seems good to your Excellency's judgment) to go away with all speed; what is timely done herein may prevent misunderstandings in them. I hope to wait speedily upon you, at least to begin my journey upon Tuesday.[1] Your own regiment will be coming up. So will Okey's, mine, Harrison's and some others. The two garrisons[2] have men enow (if provided for) to do that work. Lambert will look to them.

I rest, my Lord,
Your Excellency's most humble and faithful servant,
O. Cromwell.*

38

(After Letter LXXXVI)

Col. Harrison had been sent by the Council of Officers to bring the King to Windsor. "Gallantly mounted and armed" and gaily attired—as Herbert tells us—he met his royal prisoner near Farnham on Dec. 20 and reached Windsor with him on Dec. 23.

To Col. Harrison at Windsor or by the way to Farnham thitherward

Westminster, Dec. 22nd, 1648.

Sir,

Col. Thomlinson is to be speeded away to Windsor with instructions to himself, Lt.-Col. Cobbett, and Captain Merriman,[3] for securing of the King, answerable to the several heads you desire resolution in. So soon as he comes you may come away, and your presence here is both desired and needed. But before you come away, we desire you to appoint three or four troops out of your convoy (of the surest men and best officered) to remain about Windsor, to whom you may assign quarters in the next parts of Middlesex and Surrey, advising with the Governor therein, and to keep guard by a troop at a time within the Castle, and for that purpose to receive orders from Col. Thomlinson; and we desire you also out of the chief of the King's servants last allowed (upon advice with Lt.-Col. Cobbett and Captain Merriman) to appoint about the number of six (such as are most to be confided in, and who may best supply all offices) to stay with and attend the King for such necessary uses, and the rest we desire you to send away, not as discharged from the benefit of their places, but only as spared from extraordinary attendance. This is thought fit to avoid any numerous concourse which many servants, with their followers and their relations or acquaintance, would draw into the Castle; and for the said reason it is wished that such of the servants retained as are least sure, and not of necessity to be constantly in the King's lodgings, may be lodged in the town, or the lower part of the Castle, wherein the Governor is to be advised with.

---

[1] This must mean Tuesday, December 5, as Cromwell reached London on the evening of Wednesday the 6th, and it is not likely that when so urgently summoned, he would take more than a week to make the journey. On the other hand, two days would indeed mean travelling "post haste." Perhaps he got away a little sooner.

[2] York and Hull.

[3] Cobbett and Merriman were the two officers who had been sent by Fairfax to the Isle of Wight to demand the removal of the King.

* *Egerton MSS.* 2620, f. 3. Endorsed by Wm. Clarke. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1887, p. 149.

Capt. Mildmay[1] (we presume) will be one of those you'll find to retain. The dragoons of your convoy send away to the quarters formerly intended, which (as we remember) were in Bedfordshire. We bless God by whose providence you are come on so well with your charge.

We remain,
Your true friends to serve you,
OLIVER CROMWELL*
HENRY IRETON, etc.

39

For Colonel Whitchcott, Governor of Windsor Castle, haste: These[2]

Westminster, Dec. 22nd, 1648.

SIR,

Captain Brayfeild of Col. Hewson's regiment with his own and two other companies of Foot are ordered to come to you, and to receive orders from you for the better securing of the Castle and the person of the King therein. You may quarter them in the town and in Eyton[1] (if not in the Castle). Col. Harrison is also writ unto to appoint three or four troops of Horse out of his convoy to remain near Windsor, and to quarter in the next parts of Middlesex and Surrey, as you shall advise, and keep guard by a troop at a time within the Castle. It is thought fittest, that the Horse guard or part of it, be kept within the Upper Castle, and that at least one company of Foot at a time be upon guard there, and that the bridge betwixt the Castles (if you think fit) be drawn up in the night, and kept drawn ordinarily in the day. Also, that no other prisoners be lodged in that part of the Castle besides the King, unless Duke Hamilton in some close rooms where he may not have intercourse with the King, and he rather to be in Winchester Castle[2] (where Sir Thomas Payton was), if you can safely dispose of the other prisoners elsewhere; but the King (by all means) must be lodged in the Upper Castle, in some of the safest rooms, and Col. Thomlinson, Lt.-Col. Cobbett and Capt. Merriman to have lodgings there, and those Gentlemen of the Army (being about six or seven) who are appointed to attend and assist them in the immediate watching about the King to be also lodged (if it may be) in the Upper Castle, or at least within the Tower; some of his allowed servants also (that were of immediate attendance about his person) must necessarily be lodged in the Upper Castle, about which Col. Harrison and Lt.-Col. Cobbett will advise with you. Col. Thomlinson and with him Lt.-Col. Cobbett and Capt. Merriman are appointed to the charge of the immediate securing of the King's person (as you will see by their instructions, which they will show you), and for their assistance and furtherance therein you are desired to appoint such guards of Foot for the immediate securing of him, and to guard the rooms where he and they shall lodge, as they shall desire, and that you order those guards from time to time to observe the orders of Col. Thomlinson, Lt.-Col. Cobbett, and Capt. Merriman therein.

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[1] Anthony Mildmay (brother of Sir Henry), in the Parliament's service, attendant on the King.

[2] (*Note by Mr. Firth.*) "In October, 1642, Col. John Venn occupied Windsor Castle for the Parliament. In April, 1645, the House of Commons recommended Col. Christopher Whichcote (to use his own spelling of his name) as Venn's successor. Whichcote, who had commanded a brigade under Essex in Cornwall, and had signed the capitulation of Sept. 1, 1644, seems to have been removed from his governorship in 1651. He died about 1655." *Clarke Papers*, ii. 144.

* Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, ii. 140.

The Horse also (as to the immediate guarding of the King) are appointed to receive orders from Col. Thomlinson, but as to the safeguarding of the garrison, all (both Horse and Foot) are to be at your command. We thought this distribution better for your ease, and for the leaving you more free to look to the security of the whole garrison than to burden you both with it, and with the immediate charge of the King's person, where you have also so many prisoners to look to.

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[1] Eton.

[2] Winchester Tower?

It is thought convenient that (during the King's stay with you) you turn out of the Castle all malignant or Cavalierish inhabitants (except the prisoners), and as many others of loose and idle persons as you can well rid out, and to stint the number of prisoners' servants to the lowest proportion you well can.

You are desired also to restrain any numerous or ordinary concourse of unnecessary people into that part of the Castle, of whose affection and faithfulness to the public there is not good assurance, or who have not necessary occasions there, and to suffer no public preaching in the Chapel, or any like occasion for concourse of people. 'Tis good the prisoners this while be strictly kept in, and withheld from intercourse or communication one with another, and that the guards of the gates at the upper Castle have a list of the King's allowed servants now retained and their followers, as also of the Officers and Gentlemen of the Army that are to watch the King with their servants, that those guards may know whom they are ordinarily to let in, and the guards at the outer gate of the lower Castle to have knowledge of the same list, and of all other dwellers and lodgers within the lowest part. The Lord be with you and bless you in this great charge. To His good pleasure I commit you and it.

Your faithful friend and servant,
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.*

40

To all Officers and Soldiers whom this may concern

1648[-9] January 4, Whitehall. Letter of protection for Sir Henry Jerneghan[1] of Cossey, co Norfolk. †

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* Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, ii. 142.

† Original amongst Lord Stafford's MSS. Printed in the *Tenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix 4, p. 166.

[1] Jerningham.

41

(After Letter LXXXVII)

For the Honourable the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall: These

Westminster, Feb. 6, 1648-9.

Gentlemen,

The bearer hereof, Mr. Lincolne, did render himself unto me at Huntingdon. I then presented him to the Earl of Manchester, and both of us engaging by promise (forasmuch as he came in at that time and in such a manner) that if occasion served, we would afford him more particular favour; and myself being now certified from very good hands, that he hath done very good offices to divers of our party, and his carriage ever since hath been very civil and peaceable; I do hereby make it my request that you would be pleased (in regard of my promise) yet to admit him to favourable composition, according to the time of his coming in, it being about four years agone, without reflecting upon him as a clergyman. And I shall account it as a particular respect done unto myself, and remain,

Your very humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

Lincoln's fine had been set by the Committee in two alternative ways, to be presented to the House for choice, that is at one third, as a clergyman, or at one tenth as an ordinary delinquent who had surrendered before the "propositions" of October 1645. Cromwell's argument is that as he had surrendered long before this—in September 1644—he ought certainly to be allowed the more favourable terms, notwithstanding his being a clergyman. The Committee accepted this view and set the fine accordingly. See *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1586.

42

(After Letter XCII)

General Council at Whitehall, March 23, 1648[-9]

It having been proposed that Lieut.-General Cromwell should "go for Ireland," he was asked, at the General Council at Whitehall, on March 23, 1648-9, to declare himself, whether he would go or no. The following is the Report by William Clarke—taken down in shorthand—of his answer.

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* Signed. Seal of arms. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* G. ccviii. 454.

The Lieutenant-General answered: "That as to will, he was upon the appointment of the Parliament ready to submit. That the work was a great work, and would require more than[1] the will and minds of men to carry it on [*i.e.*] necessary and convenient supplies; eight regiments of foot and three thousand horse. [Here the reporter passes into the first person.] The Council of State hath by these gentlemen returned this answer, which in effect was to represent me Commander-in-Chief. I told them, although[2] my will could not but be subject to those that were over me, barely considered as matter of will; yet inasmuch as this business is of so great importance as it is, it was fit for me in the first place to consider how God would incline my heart to it, how I might, by seeking of Him, receive satisfaction in my own spirit, as to my own particular. Not that I would put any terms upon the State in relation to myself, but that I would be glad to see a freeness and a clearness in my spirit to the work. And a second consideration was, that if their Lordships did think that the naming of a Commander-in-Chief might be some satisfaction to persons, to officers and soldiers to go, that it was very fit for me to have a little consideration to that in relation to them, that I might not be an occasion by any interest of mine, to improve that interest to draw men over, and not to be well satisfied concerning a just and fitting provision for them before they went. And in the last place, the work being so weighty, I did think that it would require many things. I had had no serious thoughts of the business, and therefore for me to give an answer, that they might give the Council an answer, that they had not only made a Commander-in-Chief but[3] that it was accepted by him, I did think fit that they should return back to them: "That I having taken time till the beginning of next week, I hope no resolution will be expected from me before that time."[4] I do confess, my Lord, I should desire that this business of Ireland, I should not go upon it out of any personal respects whatsoever; and I would have personal respects far from this army. I do not think that God hath blest this army for the sake of any one man, nor has His presence been with it upon any such ground; but that presence and blessing that God hath afforded this army, it hath been of His own good pleasure and to serve His own time. That presence and blessing that He hath afforded us has been for His own name sake, because He would do amongst the sons of men what seemed good in His eyes for the bringing of His glory and purpose to pass; and upon this score has this army undertaken all that it hath undertaken in the presence of God.

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[1] "of" in MS. The two signs are very similar in the shorthand used by Clarke.

[2] "also" in MS. The signs for these two words might also easily be mistaken.

[3] MS., "and."

[4] "The Lieutenant-General is to give in his answer to the Council of State on Tuesday next, whether he will go for Ireland or no." (*The Moderate*, March 23.) Cromwell's meaning in the above passage apparently is: therefore (in order that I might give such an answer as would enable them to tell the Council definitely that the Commander they had made, had accepted) I thought it best for them to make this return to the Council, *viz.*, that having taken until Tuesday, &c.

It matters not who is our Commander-in-Chief if God be so; and if God be amongst us, and His presence be with us, it matters not who is our Commander-in-Chief. Truly I do believe that God hath so principled this army, that there is none amongst us that if God should set over us[1] any man we should come to this; not to submit to one another in this for the work's sake. Therefore I would that I might think of this:[2] what is this business of Ireland, what are our considerations in relation to England, to Scotland, to friends here or there, or enemies anywhere, and if we, taking considerations of that kind, and seeking directions from His guidance, answer the best guide that He shall give to us. And therefore I shall be bold to offer you some thoughts of mine and some considerations which perhaps will best serve to ripen your resolutions as to this undertaking, that so you may undertake it[3] from the Lord.

You know how it hath pleased God to beat down all your enemies under your feet, both in this kingdom and the kingdom of Scotland; and you have with simplicity of heart made this opposition to those enemies upon those honest and religious grounds that it is fit for godly and honest and religious men to propose to themselves; and God hath brought the war to an issue here, and given you a great fruit of that war, to wit: the execution of exemplary justice upon the prime leader[4] of all this quarrel into the three kingdoms and of divers persons of very great quality, who did co-operate with him in the destruction of this kingdom. Truly, notwithstanding you have brought this work to this issue, yet it seems your work is not at an end. You have yet another enemy to encounter with, and friends to stand by, [and] the interest you have fought for yet further to make good; to the end[5] you may be able to resist those that have been heretofore your enemies, and are still your enemies, and are more enraged, and are not warned by those examples and those witnesses that God hath witnessed for you. But they are removed at a further distance, [and are] joined together in strong combination to revive the work here again—that is certainly in the kingdom of Scotland [and] in the kingdom of Ireland. In the kingdom of Scotland, you cannot too well take notice of what is done nor of this:[1] that there is a very angry, hateful spirit there against your army, as an army of sectaries, which you see all their papers do declare their quarrel to be against. And although God hath used us as instruments for their good, yet hitherto they are not sensible of it, but they are angry that God brought them His mercy at such an hand; and this their anger (though without any quarrelling of ours with them) will return into their own bosoms; for God did do the work without us, and they that are displeased with the instruments, their anger reaches to God and not [only] to them.[2] You see they have declared the Prince of Wales their King, and endeavours are both here and there with that party to do what they can to co-operate with them to cause all this work to return again, and to seek the ruin and destruction of those that God hath ordained to be instrumental for their good. And I think you are not ignorant that a great party here does co-operate in the work, and [that] their spirits are embittered against us, although[3] they might know that if God had not used this poor army instrumentally to do what they have done, they[4] had not had a being at this time. But such is the good pleasure of God as to leave them to the blindness of their minds.

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[1] MS., "set us out."

[2] *i.e.*, I wished to be able to consider this.

[3] MS., "undertaking."

[4] See vol. ii., p. 127 *note*.

[5] MS., "not only to the end."

I must needs say, I do more fear—not that I do think there is a ground to fear it will be—but as a poor man that desires to see the work of God to prosper in our hands, I think there is more cause of danger from disunion amongst ourselves than by any thing from our enemies; and I do not know anything [that is a] greater [danger] than that [is]; and I believe, and I may speak with confidence [will be], till we admire God and give Him glory for what He has done. For all the rest of the world, ministers and profane persons, all rob God of all the glory, and reckon it to be a thing of chance that has befallen them. Now, if we do not depart from God, and disunite by that departure, and fall into disunion amongst ourselves, I am confident, we doing our duty and waiting upon the Lord, we shall find He will be as a wall of brass round about us till we have finished that work that He has for us to do. And yet not to be sensible of[1] this is the [cause of the] rage and malice of our enemies. . . .

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[1] MS., "so." [2] MS., "Him." [3] MS., "and though."
[4] "they" *i.e.* the English Presbyterians.

I wish that they may see their error (those that are good amongst them) and repent; but certainly this wrath of theirs shall turn to their hurt, and God will restrain the remainder, that it shall not hurt us.

In the next place we are to consider Ireland. All the Papists and the King's party—I cannot say all the Papists, but the greater party of them—are in a very strong combination against you, and they have made an union with those apostate forces that were under Insiquene and the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, and all that party are in a very strong combination against you. The last letters that the Council of State had from thence do plainly import that Preston has 8,000 foot and 800 horse, that Taaf has as many, that my Lord Clanrikard has the same proportion; that my Lord Insiquene and my Lord Ormond has a matter of 3,000 foot and 800 horse, that these are all agreed and ready in conjunction to root out the English interest in Ireland, and to set up the Prince of Wales his interest there likewise, and to endeavour as soon as they can, to attempt upon our interest in Leinster and Ulster and Connaught; in all which provinces we have an interest, but in Munster none at all, and also,[2] that interest we have in these three provinces is not so considerable but [that] if these Confederate forces shall come upon them, it is more than probable, without a miracle from heaven, [that][3] our interest will easily be eradicated out of those parts. And truly this is really believed: if we do not endeavour to make good our interest there, and that timely, we shall not only have (as I said before) our interest rooted out there, but they will in a very short time be able to land forces in England, and to put us to trouble here. I confess I have had these thoughts with myself, that perhaps may be carnal and foolish. I had rather be overrun with a Cavalierish interest than[4] a Scotch interest; I had rather be overrun with a Scotch interest, than an Irish interest; and I think of all this is most dangerous. If they shall be able to carry on their work, they will make this the most miserable people in the earth, for all the world knows their barbarism --not [those] of any religion, almost any of them, but [are] in a manner as bad as Papists—and you see how considerable they are therein at this time. Truly it is [come] thus far, that the quarrel is brought to this state, that we can hardly return unto that tyranny that formerly we were under the yoke of, which through the mercy of God hath been lately broken, but we must at the same time be subject to the kingdom of Scotland or the kingdom of Ireland, for the bringing in of the King. Now that[1] should awaken all Englishmen, who perhaps are willing enough he should have come in upon an accommodation, but not [that] he must come from Ireland or Scotland.

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[1] "that" in MS.

[2] "though" in MS. These two symbols seem also to have been mistaken on p. 400 above.

[3] The MS. has "but." The shorthand symbols for "that" and "but" are so similar, that they might very easily be taken one for the other.

[4] "of" in MS. The signs for "of" and "than" in Clarke's shorthand are almost indistinguishable. See p. 400 above.

This being so, I would not have this army now so much to look at considerations that are personal—whether or no we shall go if such a commander go, or such a commander;[2] and make that any part of our measure or foundation—but let us go if God go. If we be still in our calling; prosecuting that cause that hitherto we have engaged in, and [if] the opposing those enemies be a part of that cause (wherein we desire that there may be no personal respects in it), and if we be satisfied in our judgments and consciences that He is in it, that you would let this be your motive. And I do profess it as before the Lord of Heaven, and as in His presence, I do not speak this to you that I would shift at all from the command, or in any sneaking way or in any politic [way] lead you to an engagement before I declare my thoughts in the thing, whether I go or stay, as God shall incline my heart to. And if you undertake it upon these grounds, I am confident there will not be so much dispute among those who shall go as [those] who shall stay. My meaning is, you will—every honest heart that sees a freedom of their ways will rather be whetted on out of love to God and duty to God, to go where He may do Him most service, rather than stay; I say except it be that God do cast [hindrances] in men's ways by necessity of relations, or laying any law upon their hearts and anything besides, that may otherwise hinder them. I do not speak this as thinking but that he may be as honest a man that does desire [to stay as he that desires to go].[3] Doing service to God and giving glory to God will be the best motive to this work; aye, it will be much better to have considerations of this kind than to lay this as the foundation, who shall command in chief. For my own part, though the Council of State hath put that upon me, yet I have desired them to give me till Tuesday to give in my answer, [and for you] to give your resolutions as to the particular regiments that are to go, and to state what other demands in that kind you will make for their[1] going, that may enable those to go and to have a subsistence when they go."

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[1] "it" in MS.

[2] *i.e.*, under such or such a commander.

[3] MS., "to go or stay."

"8,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 1,200 dragoons."[2]

Sir Hardress Waller believed the work would not go forward until it was known whether the Commander-in-Chief named would go or not.

Cromwell: "I offer this: that the army do move for such provisions as may be fit for honest men to ask; and if you go upon that account, I think my resolution will be known before yours, and that will be properly in the nature of things; it will be best and fittest for you to consider of that first, if there be a designed part of the army to go, as there will probably.

"I hope we are such a generation of men, I am sure God so binds us about as with a garment—therefore we are to look one upon another as if it were our own case, all of us being ready to do it; and therefore I think in order to your proceedings, it will be better to consider who shall go, and what is due to him, and to provide for him as to the point of arrears and of provision what will serve for honest men to carry on the work. And truly this will spend as much time as Tuesday next comes to."[3]

Colonel Hewson then made a learned speech, and instead of addressing himself to his Excellency [*i.e.*, Fairfax] said; "an 't please your Majesty."[4]

The above speech effectually disposes of the idea that Cromwell's demands for Ireland were personal. On March 29, Armyne reported to the House that the Lieutenant-General would go "if sufficiently provided." Mrs. Everett Green, in the preface to her Calendar for 1649-50, took this to refer to his personal allowances. He required, she says, sums which amounted to 13,000*l.* a year, besides 3,000*l.* for outfit. "The demand," she continues, "was high, but it was granted, notwithstanding the deplorable state of the Exchequer; though so extreme was the difficulty of meeting the wants of the Government, that the very officers who were to go over with Cromwell were barely paid one fourth of the arrears due to them."

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[1] MS., "your."

[2] This list of the numbers to go was perhaps inserted afterwards. The regiments for Ireland were, on April 20, chosen by lot. They were—Horse: Commissary-General Ireton's, Col. Scroop's, Col. Horton's and Major-General Lambert's; Foot: Col. Ewer's, Col. Cook's, Col. Hewson's and Col. Dean's; Dragoons: Major Abbot's, Capt. Mercer's, Capt. Fulcher's, Capt. Garland's and Capt. Bolton's troops. *The Moderate*, April 17-24, 1649. (E. 551, 20.)

[3] See note on p. 400 above.

[4] *Clarke Papers*, ii. 200 *et seq.*

We know now what his demands really were. The "sufficient provision" must include an army large enough to cope successfully with the royalist forces; the payment of arrears to those who were to go, and when they got there, "what will serve for honest men to carry on the work." Of himself there is no word, and although he definitely accepted the command on March 29, his allowances were not fixed until the July following (p. 229 of the Calendar). This is the notice to which Mrs. Everett Green referred, but there is no hint that Cromwell himself had asked these sums, and the 3000*l.* "for outfit" is for transport and provisions to carry the army over. As to the officers who could not get a fourth of their arrears, they were not any of those who went from England, but eighteen who had deserted from Inchiquin in Ireland, and whose accounts had got delayed and not yet reported to Parliament.

43

(AFTER LETTER XCVI)

THIS is the last letter in relation to Richard's marriage treaty. Compare Letters LXXXVIII-XCVI.

For my very worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esq., at Hursley: These

April 28, 1649.

SIR,

I was not without hope to have been with you this night, but truly my aged mother is in such a condition of illness that I could not leave her with satisfaction. I expected to have had the deeds sealed here which were to be performed on my part, but my lawyer tells me it will be necessary for me to be with you at the doing thereof, because of the order of sealing them.

I have sent them to you by this bearer for your perusal, and I trust to be with you upon Monday night (if God will). I shall be able to stay only Tuesday with you, for indeed I must necessarily be back on Wednesday night. My occasions cause these affairs to go in such a hurry, unbefitting the weight of them; and I doubt will be troublesome to you, which I desire you to excuse me in, because its long of me. I beseech the Lord to bless proceedings and to vouchsafe His presence.

My wife presents her affectionate respects to yourself and lady. So do I mine, and to your whole family.

I take leave and rest, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
O. CROMWELL.*

44

DURING the early part of 1649 there were bitter complaints from Hampshire, of the "insufferable violences and oppressions" of the soldiers. Col. Martin's men seem to have been the worst. See *Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS.*, p. 14.

For Mr. Rushworth or Mr. Clerke

April 28, 1649.

MR. RUSHWORTH,

I desire you to order, as from the General, Colonel Tomlinson's men now in Hantshire to remove more westward, and not to exact moneys before they go; it being certified that that county hath paid all their moneys. I desire you to give the bearer the orders.

I rest, your loving friend,
O. CROMWELL. †

Endorsed by William Clarke.

45

For my very loving friend, Major Butler, at his quarters in Northamptonshire or elsewhere: These

May 31, 1649.[1]

SIR,

It's here resolved you be Major to Col. Harrison's regiment, which is to stay in England; wherefore I desire you to agree so with Capt. Stirke that so many of both your troops as are most willing for Ireland may be under Capt. Stirke, to make his troop complete, and that you, with your own troop do forthwith march into Suffolk, to Col. Harrison's regiment, and that you take the charge of that regiment; the assignments of that regiment (as I take it) being there.[1] I have no more at present, but rest

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* *Stowe MS.* 142, f. 56. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1899, p. 738. Calendared in the *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, pt. iii. p. 6.

† Holograph. *Egerton MS.* 2620. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1887, p. 149.

[1] Cromwell (after putting down the mutiny at Burford) was back in London at this time, having been present to receive the thanks of the House on the 26th.

Your very affectionate friend,
O. Cromwell.*

46

The following letter was probably written just before the Lord General left London for Ireland, perhaps at the very last, like those in favour of Lord Thomond and Mr. Lowry (see Letters XCVII, XCVIII). Price is to be paid, Cromwell says, out of the Act of General Composition for North Wales "if that pass." It did pass on August 10, 1649, and one of its provisions was that from the first receipts, 2,000*l.* was to be allowed to Col. Mason, Capt. Richard Price and two other officers, whose houses had been burnt and estates seized by the enemy. (See *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, p. 146, where however Price's name is printed Pine by mistake.)

For William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament

[1649, beginning of July?].

Mr. Speaker,

I have been thoroughly acquainted with the sufferings of Capt. Richard Price for his affection to the Parliament from the beginning; how faithfully he hath served, and how useful he still is in the county where his estate lies, being the only man in that county proclaimed rebel by the late King and his estate whilst in your service sequestered, whereby he is utterly disabled for any further actings under your commissions (which will be greatly to your disadvantage) unless some reparations may be made him for his losses, or his modest request granted of having the moiety of his arrears due upon his accounts, as it is stated and registered by the Committee of the Army, paid him, either out of the general composition for North Wales, if that pass, or by the fines of such of the delinquents of North

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[1] Mr. Firth remarks of this appointment that for some reason it was not permanent, as in the following November Steven Winthrop was Major of the regiment, and subsequently became its Colonel.

* Holograph. Original amongst the *Stowe MSS.* 142, f. 58. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1899, p. 739.

Wales as have not yet perfected their compositions. The paucity of our friends in those parts and the necessity that lies upon us of encouraging them (unless by reason of their poverty disabled to act under your authority, we shall suffer the power to return into the hands of malignants) puts me upon this request to you, which I earnestly recommend to your serious consideration, and rest

Your most [obedient] servant,
O. Cromwell.*

A year later Price petitioned for his money, which was still unpaid. The Committee for Compounding referred the petition to one of their counsel, but on December 5, Parliament ordered him 500*l.* of the amount, and it was paid him in the spring of the next year. He was at this time treasurer to the Committee for North Wales; had assisted Colonel Mitton in reducing that country in 1646, and in 1653 was returned as one of the Welsh representatives to the Little Parliament. (See *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, pp. 341, 818, 3261. Also Phillip's *Civil War in Wales*, ii. 301, 308.)

47

(After Letter XCIX)

Cromwell reached Bristol on July 14, and remained there, making his final preparations for Ireland, until the end of the month.

For the Justices of Peace for the County [*of Pembroke*]

1649, July 21, Bristol.—Stating that the army is about to march by them, to embark for Ireland; requesting them to order a free market to be kept in the villages near Milford Haven on Tuesday July 31 and so from day to day, until all the forces be shipped; and promising ready money for everything purchased. †

[illegible]

(After Letter CII)

On August 13, Cromwell embarked at Milford Haven for Ireland, and landed at Dublin on the 15th. Here he published two Declarations; the one given below to the people of Dublin, and (a day later) that printed after Letter CII, to the army. The following is taken from Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, which see *passim* for Cromwell's Irish campaign.

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* *Rawlinson MS.* D. 923, f 301, in the Bodleian Library. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1899, p. 739. The signature is so faint as to be almost illegible, and the rest of the letter is not in Cromwell's hand.

† *The Moderate*, no. 54, E. 565, (23). Printed in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1887, p. 150.

Declaration to the City of Dublin

Aug. 23, 1649.

Whereas God Almighty, in the abundance of His mercy and goodness, hath been pleased from time to time to vouchsafe preservation and deliverance unto this city from the rage and cruelty of a bloody enemy, and in a more special manner to manifest His [anger against a] numerous army of rebels encamped about this city; which continual mercies do justly call for a thankful acknowledgment of His gracious goodness by a sincere and earnest endeavour, as well to maintain the honour of His most holy Name as to oppose and take away such offences, being contrary and displeasing to His divine will; and yet notwithstanding, by the frequent practice of profane swearing, cursing, and drunkenness, His holy Name is daily dishonoured and blasphemed, to the scandal and grief of all good men, although the said offences are prohibited by the law of God, the known laws of this land, and the known articles of war, whereby we have just cause to fear, that without a thorough reformation of such sins, He may deservedly break off the continuance of His wonted loving-kindness towards this place, and give us over to destruction:—

And for as much as it is a duty required at the hand of the magistrate, who ought not to bear the sword in vain, but to improve the power committed into his hand for the punishment [or] prevention of offences; we therefore sadly taking the premises into consideration, and resolving that the said offences be strictly proceeded against and punished according to the utmost severity and rigour of law, do by this our proclamation strictly charge and command, that as well the mayor of this city, and other officers and ministers of justice in the same city, whom the same shall concern, as also that all officers of the army, do respectively cause the said laws and articles to be put in execution against all such persons as shall offend against the same. And we do further charge and command all officers of the army to be aiding and assisting to the said mayor of this city, and the other officers and ministers of justice therein, for the apprehending of all and every the said offenders which shall be members of the army, and for the bringing of them before the proper officers, whereby they may be severely punished according to the said articles of war. And we do hereby declare our full resolution to punish the neglect and contempt of this our proclamation with the severest punishment which by law may be inflicted upon the contemners thereof.

(Signed) O. CROMWELL.*

Given at Dublin Castle this 23 of August, 1649.

40

(AFTER LETTER CVII)

TREDAH and Wexford had been stormed and sacked, and the victorious General was about to proceed to Ross. He had written a long letter to the Speaker on the 14th. This, written a day later, needs not to give details. Fairfax in England was struggling with discontents among the soldiers whose (formerly) equally restless brothers in arms were doing such great deeds under their favourite commander.

For his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, General

Wexford, October 15, 1649.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I could not satisfy myself to omit this opportunity; it rejoiceth me to hear of the prosperity of your affairs, wherein the good of all honest men is so much concerned, and indeed, my Lord, such intemperate spirits being suffered to break forth and show their venom, and yet from time to time to be suppressed, shows the same good God watches over you which hath gone with you all along hitherto and will be with you to the end. I am verily persuaded the discovery of these men['s spirits] makes them [so] manifest that I hope at least the godly shall not be deceived by them, which will be cause of much rejoicing. Truly, my noble Lord, my prayers are for you, and I trust shall be, that God will still continue His presence and the light of His countenance with you to the end. The Lord shows us great mercy here, indeed He, He only, gave this strong town of Wexford into our hands. The particulars I forbear, because I have spent some pains in writing them to the Parliament.

I have no more at present but the tender of the integrity and affection of

My Lord,
Your Excellency's most humble servant
O. CROMWELL.

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* Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, ii. 231.

Sir,—If by your favour or interest Sir John Barlacye[1] may obtain any encouragement for his forepast services for the State, either from Parliament or the Council of State in England, and that any direction may be given to me therein, I shall be glad to be serviceable to him in executing their commands, and this I can assure your Excellency, that the reducing of his regiment was not in the least a reflection upon him, but to save the State a charge.*

50

(Before Letter CXV)

Cork and Youghal had determined to submit; and now sent propositions and addresses; which are printed here in order to make intelligible the Lord General's answers to them. Letter CXV gives an account of the proceedings.

(1) *Propositions sent by the English inhabitants of the city, suburbs and liberties of Cork to his Excellency General Cromwell*

[1649, beginning of November.]

1. The said inhabitants, out of a sense of the former good service and tender care of the Lord of Inchiquyne to and for them, they desire that an act of oblivion pass for any act committed which might redound to the prejudice of his Lordship or his heirs, and that he may quietly enjoy his own estate, and that satisfaction be made for what arrears is due unto him until the perfection of the last peace.

2. The said inhabitants for themselves desire that an act of indemnity be passed for any former actions which they or any of them have done, or might be supposed to have committed, whereby they and every of them may and shall as quietly possess and freely enjoy their liberty and estates which now they are possessed of (or shall) in the same freedom as any of the people of England now do, or shall do; and that all prize goods that have been bought by the said inhabitants, they may and shall enjoy them from any that might claim them as [proprietors].[2]

3. The said inhabitants desire that whereas the charter of the city of Cork hath been forfeited by reason of non 'nadge,[3] that there be a charter granted the now inhabitants in as large and ample manner as the former.

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[1] Son of the Sir John Borlace who in 1642 was one of the Lord Justices, with Loftus and Parsons. Sir John the elder had died in the previous year.

[2] This word supplied from the *Council Book of Youghal.*

[3] "Novesance," *Council Book of Youghal;* ? nonfeasance.

* Holograph. *Egerton MS.* 2620. Printed in *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1887, p. 150.

4. [That the same inhabitants further desire that satisfaction be made for what money or goods][1] they can make appear by ticket they have any way lent, dispursed, or delivered for the use of the army before the late peace, and likewise for what they or any of them have or shall dispurse in money or goods since the time of their present declaration, and that one of the city be chosen to audify the said account on which debentures to issue for payment.

5. The said inhabitants desire that what they shall make appear is due unto them by specialty (or otherwise) from any person or persons whatsoever, before or since the wars, satisfaction be made as to justice appertaineth.

6. That all English garrisons and persons that will come in and submit to these propositions shall have the benefit of the same.

7. That all lands, messuages and tenements within the said city and county thereof tnat was held in burgage, to be totally confirmed on the now inhabitants of the said city, and that the inhabitants of the said city and suburbs be regulated into a regiment under the command of Mr. John Hodder [2] as Colonel, to be in pay when they pass on duty, not else.*

(2) *Answer to the several desires of the inhabitants of Cork sent by their Commission. Received November,* 1649

1. I shall forbear to answer.

2. The inhabitants of the city of Cork that have joined in the late declaring of[3] the Parliament shall be fully indemnified for any thing that passed as is desired, so as to restore them to the same conditions of freedom, privileges and safety that they were in before the Lord of Inchiquine's defection, and as if the same or anything that hath ensued thereupon had never been, and particularly shall enjoy the benefit of any prize goods they have bought without being troubled or damnified for the same.

3. That the charter of the city of Cork shall be renewed as is desired, and no advantage taken of the forfeiture mentioned.

4. For what they have lent, disbursed or delivered for the public service since their declaration, or hereafter shall lend or advance, it shall be satisfied with all speed out of the revenue of these parts, out of which it may be best and safest done, which I leave to themselves to think and dispose of, and for anything so due to them from

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[1] Supplied from the *Council Book of Youghal.*

[2] John Hodder, steward of Sir Philip Percival, had been made Commissary of the Victuals at Cork by Lord Inchiquin.

[3] "declaration for," *Council Book of Youghal.*

* Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, ii. Appendix, p. 327. From MS. in Royal Irish Academy. Also *Council Book of Youghal*, p. 281.

the public, before the Lord Inchiquine's defection, they shall have the same right, and be in the same capacity of satisfaction, as before the said defection they were; and I shall endeavour it for them equally as to any others to whom such debts from the public is due, by all ways and means in my power. But for anything lent, disbursed or delivered as to the public use since the said defection and before the said declaration, it cannot be otherwise considered but as damage suffered by persons well affected, living under the power of an enemy; and in that nature, so far as anything shall appear to have been forcibly taken from such persons, it shall be considered, examined and represented to the Parliament to be satisfied according to the damage of any other well-affected person in Ireland.

5. For debts due from private persons they shall be left to their full legal rights.

6. As all that is granted to the soldiers and inhabitants of Cork, Youghall and other neighbouring places that have already corresponded and joined with them in their late declarations, is most freely and heartily granted, because not bargained for before their declaring, and because to men's appearing, by the carriage of the business, to [? they] have done what they have done therein, really from a recommended[1] sense of an affection to the English Parliamentary and Protestant interests in this nation, so to any other places or persons that having been formerly of the Parliamentary party shall so come in, as it appears to be from the said sense and affection, and not from policy or necessity, I shall bear the same mind, and have the same readiness to do them good and not hurt.

7. Not fully understanding the nature or extent of the thing desired, I can give no present full resolutiou, but shall be ready to do them full right in all things, and also to perform any such good office of respect within my power unto the said city of Cork as may be a reward and memorial of their faithful and public office which in these late occurrences I really think they have deserved.

Lastly, as to their desiring other papers concerning the militia of the city of Cork, I am very willing that the inhabitants be formed into a regiment under the command of Mr. John Hodder as Colonel, Mr. Maurice Cuffe as Lieut.-Colonel, Major Boreman, Major-under. The regiment or any part thereof when called on duty, to have the States pay. For other officers of the regiment, I leave it to the said field officers or any two of them to nominate, and to the Lord of Broghill, Sir Wm. Fenton and Col. Phair, for approbation, to whom I refer it.

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[1] "recovered sense" in *Council Book*.

O. Cromwell.*

51

(1) *Address from Youghal*

The address sent by Youghal ran as follows, and, as Cromwell's reply shows, must have been dated November 7.

"May it please your Excellency, we have a long time been humble suitors to Almighty God, for that happy success to your endeavours, which the access of Lord Broghill and part of your forces here hath at last presented unto us. With what thankfulness to God and comfort to ourselves we have received them, we leave to others to testify.

"Our humble suit unto your Excellency is that seeing by the divine power your actions have hitherto progressed, we may by the result of them possess your honour's favour and protection, in our charter, privileges, lives and estates.

"All which we most humbly submit to your Excellency disposing, and in all duty remain your Excellency's most humble servants, Thomas Warren, Mayor; Joshua Boyle, Recorder; Tho. Taylor, Mayor of Staple; Henry Heard and George Barnes, Bailiffs.

"Cum unanimi consensu totius Corporationis politici incorporati de Youghall." †

(2) *The Lord General's Reply*

Ross, 14 Nov. 1649.

Gentlemen,—I received a letter from you by the hand of Col. Townsend of the 7th inst., and as I cannot but have a good resentment of the matter of your letter, so I do therein very much rejoice, that you therein give the glory to God, by acknowledging the praise of the things that have been done by us to belong to God, as the Author of them, and that they are the fruits of your prayers to God. I hope that by that time you have had a little more experience of the fruit you are like to reap, thereupon it will be made manifest to you, that God intended the inclination of your hearts to this, as a blessing to the place you live in. What you expect from me, in order to the enjoyment of your charters, privileges, lives and estates, I desire you to rest confident, that wherein I may advantage you, in any of these relations, by any power committed unto me by the Parliament, you shall find me willing to answer your expectations, and wherein I may prefer any thing unto the Parliament in England for your further advantage, I shall be ready to do it, when I receive particulars from you. In the mean time I rest, your very loving friend,

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* Signed only. Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. Appendix, p. 328. From MS. in Royal Irish Academy. Also *Council Book of Youghal*, p. 128.

† *Council Book of Youghal*, Appendix A., p. 556.

O. CROMWELL.*

(3) *English Officers in Youghal to the Lord General*

At the same time the English officers in Youghal sent the following letter, probably written also on the 7th, and presented, with the other, on the 13th, by Colonel Richard Townsend:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

With what alacrity your party was received here by us, notwithstanding their new qualifications, with [out ?] any condition of assurance to any person amongst us, the Lord of Broghill and Col. Phayre can testify, as also with how many difficulties we have contended to accomplish our wished end, the happy uniting of all of us with those of your army, which God hath been pleased in a wonderful manner to bring to pass. Now, lest some amongst us that have cheerfully acted in the business, and with no small disadvantage to themselves, should by some misinformation, as being looked upon with prejudice, by those now placed in authority by your Excellency, we humbly desire that an act of indemnity may be granted unto all Englishmen and Protestants that have or shall join with us in this happy union with, and submission to, the State of England, and that they may stand upon as clear a score, in your Excellency's opinion, as the free people of England, and that those that have been principal actors in the reducement of this town and Cork may continue their command and receive the same encouragement your own officers do. And that all others that have declined Inchiquine, and adhered unto us, shall have half pay according unto the establishment of your own army, during the time of their continuance in it, and that the Lord of Broghill or some other whom your Excellency shall think fit, be qualified with power to command the province, which we can assure you, was never in a fairer way of reducement than now, for the finishing of which we shall use our utmost endeavours.

Remaining, your Excellency's most humble and faithful servants. †

(4) *Reply to the English Officers in Cork and Youghal*

The Lord General's reply was meant for the officers of both Youghal and Cork, and was probably written on the 14th, and sent with that to the Corporation.

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* *Council Book of Youghal*, Appendix A., p. 557.

† *Ibid.* p. 558.

1st. That both the officers and soldiers now in the said Garrisons, and all that have joined and corresponded with them in the late declaring for the Parliament, shall have full indemnity for all things past, in relation to any differences mentioned, as is desired. But as this, and what else is by me granted to them, is granted freely and heartily, and much the more, because not bargained for before this declaring, and because the whole company seemed to have done what they did herein, from a renewed sense of the English parliamentary and Protestant interest (to the prejudice whereof they had formerly been drawn and deluded), so will I not be obliged to extend the same to all that shall hereafter come in, who now may be inclined unto it only from necessity or policy. But for such as shall so come in and join, as it appear to be from the same sense and affection, I shall bear the same mind towards them, and have the same readiness to do them what good I can.

2nd. Presuming the number of men to be sufficient for two regiments (as is alleged) I am willing that the foot be formed into two regiments. Ten companies in a regiment. Col. Gifford to command the one and Col. Townsend the other, as colonels. And that Lieut.-Col. Smithwick be Lieut.-Col. of one of them, and Major Widnam[1] [Widenham] major of the other, and for other officers, I refer them to the approbation of Lord Broghill, Sir Will Fenton, and Col. Phayer.

3rd. I shall have[2] the horse for the present as the Lord Broghill and the other Commissioners have disposed them under Col. Warden and Major Purdon as majors, both to be in one regiment under the Lord Broghill as colonel.

4th and 5th. That the officers that have deserved well and cannot for present have command, shall be in one troop as reformadoes, and have such allowance as the Lord Broghill and said Commissioners have already set down. And this troop (the Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master being appointed as I understand) shall be under the Lord Broghill as their captain, and for further rewards either promised or merited, as soon as I am assured particularly of their merits, or the reward promised, I shall be ready to make them good, and in the mean time leave it to the Lord Broghill and the other Commissioners to do in part as they find moneys with them will enable them.

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[1] See the depositions of Townshend, Widenham and others, printed in the *Council Book of Cork*, *Council Book of Youghal*, and Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, Appendix vii.

[2] Query, "leave."

6th. When the accounts are made and delivered, it shall be paid as desired, either out of the present treasury of the army, or some certain incomes in those towns or counties adjacent, out of which it may best be had and surest to the officers concerned, or join with the inhabitants of Cork, as to the moneys advanced by them on the same occasion.

O. CROMWELL.*

52

(AFTER LETTER CXV)

For the Commander in Chief of the Parliament's force at or near Dungarvan[1]

[November 22? 1649.]

THE whole army is marched to Carrick, having a good pass over the river [Suir] by boats and otherwise, and may attempt upon 047 or 227 [Clonmell or Waterford?]. I thought fit to give you notice hereof, that so you may know our state. I should be glad also to hear from you how it is with you, and how things stand in those parts.

If we attempt 227 or 047, we think your conjunction would be of good use. The enemy would not be gotten to engage. Our army marched up above Thomastown towards them, but they broke the bri[dge], and it proved so wet we could not get o[ver], and they marched to Kilkenny, and put their foot into the town and suburbs ; so that, notwithstanding their great brags, its probable they intend not to fight except necessitated thereunto.

I rest your servant,

O. CROMWELL. †

This letter, Mr. Arnold says, must have been intercepted, and so came into the hands of Ormond, who has endorsed it, "Cromwell's letter concerning his march to Carrick."

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* *Council Book of Youghal*, Appendix A., p. 558.

† Signed only. Printed in *Sketches from the Carte Papers*, p. 19.

[1] Probably Lord Broghill. See Cromwell's letter to Lenthall of Dec. 19 (Letter CXVII).

53

(After Letter CXVIII)

Concerning the Clonmacnoise Manifesto.

We learn that letters from the Lord Lieutenant of Jan. 1 and 5 had been received and read in Parliament. "And a third, from Youghal, dated the 16 of Jan. 1649[-50] was this day [Jan. 29] read; the substance whereof was to this effect:—"

To William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament

Youghal, 16 Jan. 1649[-50].

Sir,

The affairs of the enemy are much endeavoured to be brought under the inspection and government of the Roman clergy. To which end they have had some meeting at Kilkenny and elsewhere to new model their armies, and indeed to unite themselves upon principles wherein they will give the precedency to their religion avowedly, and yet make use of the King of Scots' name that so they may be able to say with others, they reject not, but are for the King's interest; and by declaring their interest as is before expressed, they expect cheerful assistance from an hearty conjunction amongst themselves: as also foreign Catholic aids against the spring.

This enclosed book was the result of one of their late conventions. The war thus stated will have good harmony with Montrose and all his participants. I hope all honest men's eyes will be opened.

I hear they have had dispute about their General. It is said Antrim was named and he refused. They offer, as I hear, to pay 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse at the church's charge, etc.

Your humble servant,

O. Cromwell.

"There was enclosed the book herein mentioned, intituled, Certaine Acts and Declarations made by the Ecclesiasticall Congregations of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Prelates met at Clonmacnose the 4 of December Anno 1649."*

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* *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, Jan. 25-31. (E. 534, 4.)

54

(After Appendix 16)

(1) *For the Governor of Clonmell or the Chief Officer Commanding there* [1]

Youghal, Jan. the 16th, 1649[-50].

Sir,—I shall discharge Lieut.-Col. White for Capt. Caulfield, and Major Phelim O'Neal for Capt. Caulfield's lieutenant, his Quarter-Master, and the troopers taken with them.

I shall discharge Capt. Baggott, late Governor of Iniscorfie [Enniscorthy] for the Lieutenant of Dragoons and the three soldiers of the same troop belonging to Carrick. For the soldiers belonging to Dungarvan, I shall return to you so many of the same condition. If you shall accept hereof, I do hereby engage my honour to perform with you accordingly. In case you insist upon Col. Woogan, I expect Capt. Caulfield and his officers and soldiers for him. And then the other exchanges to stand as is above expressed.

I rest your servant,
O. Cromwell.*

(2) *To the Governor of Clonmel?*

[Fethard][2] 10th Feb. 1649[-50].

All the prisoners in Clonmell to be delivered to Carrick garrison, and I engage myself to enlarge Major-Gen. Butler and Lieut. Wall, taken at Callan. Because I had a promise that Kilcash[3] should not be garrisoned, I forbore to garrison it when it was in my power to have done it. I expect therefore that it be immediately quitted.

(Signed) O. Cromwell.†

Endorsed "10 Feb. 1649. General Cromwell's note concerning Colonel Richard Butler."

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[1] The Governor was Major-General Hugh O'Neill, but Lieut.-General O'Farrel seems to have been in command there at this time. See Appendix, No. 16.

[2] Cromwell was certainly at Fethard on the 9th, and he remained there for a while. See Appendix No. 18, and Letter CXIX.

[3] Kilcash, a house belonging to Col. Richard Butler, between Fethard and Carrick.

* *Carte MSS.*, xxvi., 510. Printed in *Sketches from the Carte Papers*, p. 19.

† Printed in *Sketches from the Carte Papers*, p. 20, and in Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. 355, from *Carte MS.* 26, p. 425.

55

(With Letter CXIX)

Articles for Fethard

As related in Letter CXIX, Cromwell reached Fethard at night and at once sent a summons to the governor; which produced the following reply:—

"*For Oliver Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces now in*
"*Ireland*

"May it please your Lordship,

"I have received your letter about nine of the "clock this night, which hour I conceive unreasonable for me to treat "with you. Yet if your Lordship pleases to send sufficient hostages "in for such as I will employ to treat with you, I will be ready to "entrust some in that business. Having no more at present,

"I remain
"Your honour's friend and servant,
"Pierce Butler.

"From the garrison of Fethard,
"Feb. 2nd, 1649[50], half an hour
"of nine o'clock of the night."

After—as Cromwell wrote—"almost a whole night spent in treaty," the following articles were agreed upon before six o'clock, and the Parliament forces were in possession before eight. The terms were especially favourable, as they included safety and freedom for the priests in the town, as well as for the soldiers and the other inhabitants.

Articles of agreement made and concluded on the 3rd day of February, 1649[50], between the most Hon. Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland, and Lieut.-Colonel Pierce Butler, Governor of the town of Fethard, concerning the surrender of the said town as follows:—

1. That all officers and soldiers shall march freely with their horses and arms and all other goods, bag and baggage, colours flying, matches lighted, ball in bouche, into any place within His Majesty's (*sic*) quarters or garrisons except such as are now besieged, safely convoyed thither, free from violence from any of the Parliament's party.

2. That all the country families and inhabitants, as also any of the officers, may freely live and enjoy their goods either in town or abroad; if they or any of them be disposed to betake themselves to their former

habitations in the country, that they have respite of time for that, and admittance to enjoy their holdings, paying contribution, as others in the country do, and carry with them safely such goods as they have within the garrison.

3. That all clergymen and captains [? chaplains] of the soldiers, both town and country, now in this garrison, may freely march, bag and baggage, without any annoyance or prejudice in body or goods.

4. That all and every the inhabitants of the said town, and their wives, children and servants, with all their goods and chattels, both within the town and abroad in the country, shall be protected from time to time, and at all times, and shall quietly and peaceably enjoy their estates, real and personal, in as free and good condition as any English or Irish shall hold his or their estates in this kingdom, they and every of them paying such contribution as the rest of the inhabitants of the county of Tipperary pay proportionably to their estates, and no more.

In consideration whereof the said Governor doth hereby engage himself that he will deliver up the said town with all things therein, except such things as are before agreed upon, to be taken away with them by eight of the clock this morning.

(Signed) O. Cromwell.*

56

(After Letter CXX)

Articles for Cahir Castle

Articles made and agreed on the 24th day of Feb. 1649[-50], between his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the one part, and Captain George Mathews,[1] Governor of Cahyr Castle of the other part, concerning the surrender of the same castle, *viz.* :—

Imprimis, that the governor and all officers, soldiers and clergymen and servants may march out with their horses and arms and bag and baggage. The English soldiers willing to serve his Excellency may be entertained. Those that will not, either English or Irish, to have liberty to live quietly in the country, laying down their arms, or passes to go elsewhere.

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* MS. in Royal Irish Academy. Printed in Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 256, 257.

[1] Half-brother of the Marquis of Ormond, whose mother, Lady Thurles, married George Mathewe, esquire, sen., as her second husband.

That the Governor may enjoy his estate which he hath as his wife's jointure, or wardship of the heiress of Cahir.

That he may have his goods and chattells and liberty for a week to carry them away; and have the possession of the castle of Reghill for his habitation, and his corn yet remaining there, his Excellency keeping two files of musketeers there.

That the goods he hath in the castle belonging to others may be delivered to the several proprietors.

That in consideration hereof the Governor is to deliver up the said castle to his Excellency upon signing these articles.

O. Cromwell.*

57

(After Letter CXXI)

To [Major-General Ireton] President of Munster

Knocktopher, March 18, 1649[-50].

Sir,

The guns could not come from Rosse, but near a mile short of Enisteague. I believe the castle by Tho[mas] towne is delivered by this time, the officers and soldiers to leave arms and ammunition behind them, and to go home to their dwellings, and engage never to bear arms against the Parliament.

Abbott took the other castle;[1] I believe two or more of his men are killed and since dead. He could not get the men out without giving them their lives, except a sergeant and a corporal, which were all the officers they had, who were at mercy and are since hanged.

For certain, Castlehaven is lately returned back with his army; Reynolds sent me almost an alarm about it.

I believe it were good to draw all your foot to these parts, and to put Kilkenny to a speedy issue before Grannowe[2] or other things be attempted, whereby Castlehaven, and indeed all their forces, will be put to such a distance from Waterford and Clonmell as will best discourage them, and give you opportunity to act as you please upon them. If so, to bring your guns to Tho[mas] town first would not be improper, but I leave it to your judgment. However let all the foot come up, and speed you up to us.

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* Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. 363. MS. in Royal Irish Academy. Copy in *S. P. Ireland.*

[1] See Letter CXXX.

[2] Granny, a fort near Waterford; see Letter CXXX.

I rest, yours,
O. C.*

58

(After Letter CXXXII)

After the surrender of so many garrisons to Cromwell, the Irish under Ormond became suspicious of their English comrades, and urged him to dismiss his English troops. The latter were only too anxious to return to their homes, and sent the Commissioners mentioned below to make terms with Cromwell, who thereupon issued the following Declaration, and sent orders to Vice-Admiral Penn to assist them to pass the Shannon.

(1) *Declaration*

[Fethard], April 26, 1650.

Upon the addresses and overtures to me made by Sir Robert Sterling, knight, Mr. Michaell Boyle, Dean of Cloyne, and Colonel John Daniell, in the name and behalf of the Protestant party in Ireland, now under the command or obedience of the Lord Marquess of Ormond, I do hereby declare and promise as followeth.

That all such officers and soldiers and gentlemen or clergymen (being English or Scottish and Protestants), as desire to come off from the Irish popish party, and shall come under conduct of Col. John Daniell, may repair to Doneraile, and there, engaging not to act against the Parliament, shall have passes to go where they will within the Parliament's quarters or to transport themselves beyond sea, with certain provisoes.

2. That they may take their money and all their goods (horses, arms and ammunition excepted).

3. That commissioned officers, gentry and clergy, shall keep so many of their horses, with their swords and such other arms, as shall be fitting and suitable to their qualities; and both they and the soldiers may *sell* their horses and arms, to officers or soldiers of the Lord-Lieutenant's army or to English Protestants.

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* Holograph. Printed in *Sketches from the Carte Papers*, p. 21.

4. Whether, and on what terms, they may continue to hold their estates, till the pleasure of Parliament is known, shall be referred to the Commissioners for Revenue.

5. Those not giving assurance of fidelity to Parliament within six months, shall have liberty to remove and transport themselves beyond seas—those giving such assurance and submitting to such fines or composition as shall be imposed, shall enjoy their lives and estates as freely as all others.

6. The like declaration for those coming off with Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, who are to surrender at Enniskillen.

7. The like for those coming off under Sir Thomas Armstrong, to surrender at Trim or some place thereabouts.

Provided that all come off within thirty days, and that no benefit thereof shall extend to Col. Wogan or the Marshal that went with him out of Cork.

All officers, soldiers and others to observe the above conditions.

O. Cromwell.*

Underwritten: Engagement for the fair fulfilment of the above conditions, signed and sealed by Sterling, Boyle and Daniell. Same date.

(2) *To Capt. Wm. Penn, Vice Admiral of the Irish Seas*

Fethard, April 26, 1650.

Sir,

Understanding that there are many of the English Protestant party with the Lord of Inchiquin and others, who are desirous to come in to me and to lay down their arms, and desert the Irish interest: and that in their coming away they shall be necessitated to pass over the river Shannon, near the place where your ships ride, which without your assistance will be very hard for them to do, I therefore desire you (upon their informing you thereof) that you will afford them what countenance and assistance (for the furthering of this their purpose) you may without prejudice to the fleet. I rest, Sir,

Your very loving friend,

O. Cromwell. †

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* Abridged from the original in Sir R. Tangye's Collection, signed and sealed by Cromwell. Printed in Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. p. 393.

† From a copy amongst the *Carte Papers*. Printed in Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. 397, and in *Sketches from the Carte Papers*, p. 22.

Upon May 5, the three Commissioners made a further application to Cromwell, for the explanation of three points in the above articles, *viz.* :—1. Whether, when relation is made of English or Irish Protestants, it be intended to extend to Protestants of any other nation; 2. Whether the security given to those conducted by Col. Daniel, the Lord of Ardes and Sir Thomas Armstrong apply also to the conductors; 3. Whether, if those bound to leave Ireland within six months are under arrest for debt or other matters and cannot go forth, it shall be accounted a breach of the articles. To this Cromwell replied:—

(3) To these several scruples I answer and declare: To the first two affirmatively, and to the third negatively; or (for the more clearness) to the several particulars as followeth"—(*recites the three points*).

O. CROMWELL.*

A curious little story comes in as a sequel to these proceedings. Dean Boyle, thinking to do a service to Ormond and Inchiquin, procured passes for them from Cromwell, to depart the kingdom. Cromwell naturally took advantage of this to send word to the garrisons not yet surrendered, that their Lord Lieutenant had given up the game, and was about to depart. Ormond was exceedingly angry with Boyle, and wrote the following letter to Cromwell:—

"SIR,

Dean Boyle having brought me a paper signed and sealed by you, seeming to be a pass for me to transport myself beyond seas, I did much wonder from whence or for what reason it was that you either gave or he accepted it, since he was directed to declare to you (if it came in question) that I had no intention to treat with you for a pass or any other thing, and though I am yet to seek a reason for his part of that transaction, yet yours appears to me in Axtell's letter to General Preston. I have by this trumpeter returned you your paper, and for your unsought courtesy do assure you that when you shall desire a pass from me, and I think fit to grant it, I shall not make use of it to corrupt any that commands under you. I remain, your humble servant,

"ORMOND.

"Loughreagh, the 17th of May, 1650." [1]

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* From the original, signed, in Sir Richard Tangye's Collection.

[1] Printed in Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. 411, from *Carte MSS.*, xxvii. 350.

59

Passes given by Cromwell

(1) *For Col. Richard Butler*

1650, April 29.—Pass for Col. Richard Butler of Kilcash, who "stands engaged for some moneys for the ransoming of some prisoners at Dublin, who are since released, and doth desire to go to the Lord of Ormond, the Lord of Inchiquin or any other of the enemy's party to disengage himself of the obligation aforesaid," to go, with three servants, and return to the Lord-Lieutenant's headquarters, provided it be done before May 12 next. And if, within that time, Col. Butler shall discharge his said engagement he shall be free from his imprisonment. (Signed) O. Cromwell.*

(2) *For Lady Inchiquin*

1650, May 13.—Pass for "the right honourable the Lady of Inchiquin" and her family and servants, with their household stuff and goods, to depart from Ireland, and to be transported to foreign parts, by the *Golden Sun* of Ankehusen [Enchuysen] bound for Midleburgh and laden with hides, wool, skins and sides of bacon.

"Provided they act nothing to the prejudice of the State of England, and that under pretence hereof no person or goods be transported than as afore specified according to the purport and true meaning of these presents."

(Signed) O. Cromwell.†

60

The last letter which we have of Cromwell's before he left Ireland, was addressed to Col. Hewson in favour of Henry, Viscount Moore of Drogheda, son of Charles the second Viscount and of Alice Loftus, his wife, who, after her husband's death, gained a somewhat unpleasant notoriety by her persistent "informations" against Royalists, in order to secure her husband's arrears. The young Viscount had changed sides as often as Lord Inchiquin—first for the King, then for the Parliament, of late for the "enemy"—but had surrendered to Cromwell a little time before this.

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* Original amongst the MSS. of the Marquess of Ormonde. Printed in the Calendar of the *Ormonde Papers*, vol. i., new series, p. 148. Also in Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. 399.

† *Carte Papers*, xxvii. 339. Gilbert's *Contemporary History etc.*, ii. 410.

For Colonel Hueson, Governor of Dublin

May 22, 1650.

Sir,

The Lord Viscount Moore having had passes and protection from me to repair to Mellifont in the county of Louth and there to reside during the space of six months next ensuing; I desire you that the said Lord Moore during his stay at Mellifont, and if he shall during the said time have occasion to repair to Dublin to the Commissioners there, that he may be fairly and civilly treated, and that no incivility or abuse be offered unto him by any of the soldiery, either by restraining of his liberty or otherwise; it being a thing which I altogether disprove and dislike that the soldiers should intermeddle in civil affairs farther than they are lawfully called upon.[1] Your care herein will oblige the said Lord in relation to his present condition, and will be well accepted by

Your loving friend,
O. Cromwell.*

61

(After Letter CXXXIV)

SCOTLAND

Cromwell entered Scotland on July 22, and reached Cockburnspath on the 25th. On the 26th he marched to Dunbar, but before starting, wrote the following letter. Sir John Monson was one of the Royalist Commissioners for the rendition of Oxford, and came in on Oxford Articles. The various Committees whose business it was to get as much money as possible from "delinquents" fretted exceedingly at what they considered the too favourable terms granted by the generals to the defenders of places like Bristol and Oxford, and often tried to evade the Articles. Fairfax and Cromwell, on the other hand, were determined that they should be scrupulously kept, feeling not only their own honour, but (as Cromwell says here), that of the army at stake.

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[1] Altered from "unto" apparently by Cromwell himself.

* Signature and date in Cromwell's own hand. From the original in the possession of Capt. Charles Lindsay. Printed in *Anthologia Hibernica*, i. 170. This letter is said to have been in the possession of Dean Swift.

For Sir Henry Vane, junior: These

Copperswith in Scotland, July 26, 1650.

Sir,

Having received this enclosed petition from Sir John Monson, expressing a very severe proceeding against him by the violation of the public faith because his Report by Mr. Attorney General hath not been yet made to the Parliament, I cannot but, for the vindication of the Parliament and army's honours, which I conceive are much concerned in it, and his just reparation, recommend it to your favour, desiring you would with all speed acquaint the Parliament with the substance of this petition and my humble and earnest request that he may receive the intended benefit of his Articles, and be freed from these pressures that are now upon him, his cause having been thought just by the army and so formerly recommended to the honourable Speaker. And by this favour, not doubting your effectual endeavours herein, you will much engage

Your humble servant,

O. Cromwell.

With postscript, referring him for particulars to the Attorney General.*

62

(After Letter CXLIX)

To the Right Honourable the Committee for Sequestration sitting at Westminster

1650, September 27. Edinburgh.—Recommending the case of Abraham Webb, apothecary general to the army, who has "approved his good affection to the Parliament by his constant service in this army, ever since the beginning of the wars," and praying for such dispatch therein as their more weighty affairs will permit, whereby they will do an act of justice and encouragement to a deserving man, as well as lay an obligation upon their humble servant,

O. Cromwell.†

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* Certified Copy. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* G., cxci. 913. For Sir John Monson's case, see *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1431.

† The concluding words only in Cromwell's own hand. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* G., cxxix. 329. For Webb's case, see *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, p. 2564.

63

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England

Edinburgh, October 2, 1650.

SIR,

Col. George Gill had a regiment under my command. I knew nor heard of anything but what was honest and Christian in the man, until the Parliament was pleased to pass a sentence upon him and I commanded to discharge him from his regiment. I did yield present obedience to your commands as became me; since that time the man hath written unto me to desire I would mediate to some friends that he might have liberty to make his innocency to appear. I, persuading myself that nothing would be more welcome to the Parliament than to hear and redress innocency, which is so confidently stood upon by this man, do in all humility desire he may be heard, and if it be found impudency in him he may have his punishment doubled. It is not any importunity in the person occasions this boldness, but because I durst not deny my [con]science. Craving pardon for this trouble, I rest, Sir, your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL. *

In a petition to the Council of State, presented in May 1653, Col. Gill stated that "at the beginning of the late war" he raised a troop under Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, which cost him 600*l.*, that during service he was plundered of 400*l.*, and that on disbanding, nearly 1700*l.* was due to him, for which he was now sued, and in danger of being cast into prison: that in July 1650, on misrepresentation of "doubling the said 400*l.*," he was dismissed his regiment, voted incapable of any office and his lands ordered to be sold, but after nineteen months' attendance and great expense got the sentence taken off, though without any allowance in reparation. He begged consideration in regard of the loss of his calling, his debts, and his wife and six children; but though his case was brought forward and "referred" several times, it does not appear that he ever got anything. See *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1153.

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* Enclosing a petition of the said Col. Gill, defending himself from the charge of having claimed more money than he was entitled to, and praying for an examination of the matter. *Portland MSS.* N. viii. 21. Calendared in *Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report on the Portland MSS.*, i. 535.

84

(After Letter CLXIV)

To Sir John Wollaston and the other Treasurers at War

1650[-1] February 3. Desiring them to pay 1000*l.* to Mr. William Clarke out of the money in their hands for payment of the forces under his [Cromwell's] command in Scotland. With Clarke's receipt.*

85

To Col. Hammond

May 13th, 1651.

Dear Cousin,

I received yours, for which I thank you. I understand my cousin, your wife, is under some trouble of mind, but because you are not particular,[1] I can only say my poor prayers shall be for her, that it may be sanctified to you both. I am glad to hear my aunt and you are agreed;[2] I hope it's a mercy to you both. You mention some purposes to come and visit us, which kindness deserves and hath a thankful acknowledgment from your friends here, who retain in some measure their old principles, which are not unknown to you.

You do express in your letter that it's the desire of your soul that you may be led forth in some way wherein you may have more enjoyment of God, and be used to His glory, finding deadness.

Truly Sir, it's a favour from the Lord not to be valued[3] that He vouchsafe to use and own us, of the sweet whereof you have heretofore tasted, and well it becomes you, in remembrance of former experiences, to say and think so. He is a master who owns every servant in the lowest station, and those who are in the highest have nothing to boast of but His favourable countenance and acceptance; the greater the trust the greater the account; there is not rejoicing simply in a low or high estate, in riches nor poverty, but only in the Lord. No, nor can we fetch contentment from the securest, hopefullest condition we can choose for ourselves, nor is the comfort and peace of the spirit annexed to the greatest retirements, but the wind bloweth where it listeth, and if we be found with the Lord in His work, He will dispense what is needful and oftentimes exceed in bounty.

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* South African Public Library, Capetown. Calendared by Waylen in his *House of Cromwell*, 1st edition, p. 275. Waylen reduces all the dates to New Style, but Cromwell would write 1650. He did not, in Scotland, do as the Scots did; who began their year in January, though they kept the old style as regards the day of the month.

[1] *i.e.*, do not give particulars.

[2] Hammond, it will be remembered, had married Hampden's daughter, and Mrs. Hampden, sen., was Eliz. Cromwell, sister to Oliver's father. She was now nearly eighty years of age.

[3] *i.e.*, invaluable.

You hint somewhat of a willingness to be again engaged, but with this, that the work in Ireland goes smoother with you than this. You will forgive me if I wonder what makes the difference; is it not one common and complexed interest and cause acted in Ireland and Scotland?

You oppose a call to your being in a good and settled condition to your contentment. Truly if it be the Lord's work now in hand, let it be of choice to leave contentments for it.

[1] The Lord hath no need of you, yet He hath fitted you with abilities for the present dispensation; your friends here judge so, and will heartily welcome you, but indeed I do not think you fitted for the work until the Lord give you a heart to beg of Him that He will accept you into His service. Indeed I write not this but in dearness of love, truth of heart, and fear of the Lord, to you. The Lord may lay us in the dust when He pleaseth, yet we serve Him—He is our Master, this is our boasting—to receive and welcome you with comfort into the fellowship of His service is not more desired by any then by

Your cousin and very affectionate friend to serve you,

O. Cromwell.

My affection to my dear cousin and Aunt Hampden.*

66

(After Letter CLXXIV)

To the Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State

Edinburgh, June 17, 1651.

My Lord,

At my march into Scotland, being destitute of general officers of horse, I commissioned Col. Fleetwood to be Lieut.-

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[1] The remainder is autograph.

* From the MSS. of the Marquis of Lothian. Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, ii., xxvi.

General of the Horse, and Col. Whalley to be Commissary-General; and now, understanding that the treasurers make some stop of their pay by reason they are not within the establishment, I thought fit humbly to recommend their case unto your Lordship, desiring they may be put into the establishment. I crave pardon for this trouble, and rest, my Lord,

Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.*

Cromwell's request was at once granted, and the order passed the House the same day that this letter was read.

67

(AFTER LETTER CLXXV)

THE following note corrects Cromwell's letter of the previous day (No. CLXXV) concerning Lambert's victory at the North Ferry.

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England

Lithgow, 22 July, 1651.

SIR,

I beg your pardon for that I writ by Paine the messenger that there were taken prisoners of the enemy in Fife five or six hundred, whereas, upon fuller information, I find that there were taken prisoners between fifteen and sixteen hundred.

I remain, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
O. CROMWELL.†

68

(WITH LETTER CLXXX)

IMMEDIATELY after the surrender of Burntisland, Cromwell marched his army to Perth, which he knew that General Montgomery had quitted, but he did not know that Lord Sutherland had been appointed Governor, and had taken possession of the town, with 1,300 men, "not one hour before our forces sat down before it." The Lord General, understanding it had no garrison, and was defended only by some few countrymen, sent to have it delivered. To which the provost of the town returned this answer: "My Lord, you directed a letter to us "with a postscript, and we perceive—as we [are] the magistrates of "the town, and now not in a capacity to give you satisfaction—so we "find your intelligence of our present condition is not good. His "Majesty hath sent a very strong party, able to maintain this town, "and for to overpower us with a Governor; although to observe "civility with your lordship we have begged this likewise of our "Governor, to excuse ourselves at your hands, as not being the men "to have power to treat with you. AN. GRANT."

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* Original amongst the *Portland MSS.* N. viii. 53. See *Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report on the Portland MSS.*, i. 607. Noted as read on June 26. And see *Commons Journals*, vi. 592.

† *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, 24-31 July, 1651 (E. 786, 26). Printed in *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1887, p. 151.

The Lord General thereupon sent the following letter:—

"*To the Governor of St. Johnstons*"

August 1, 1651.

SIR,

To the end I may receive a positive answer to my summons, I thought fit to direct this to you, understanding by the preceding answer that you command in chief. If to avoid blood you shall come to such terms as be fit for you to have and me to give, I shall be glad to have your speedy answer, and rest

Your servant,
O. CROMWELL.*

There being no answer sent to this, the English ordnance began to play upon the town, and the men broke down the sluices and emptied the "graffes" of water. All things were ready for a storm, but at this point Lord Sutherland yielded, and the town was surrendered on Articles of War, which were signed by the Lord General the following day.

69

(AFTER LETTER CLXXXII)

IN the spring of 1651, considerable anxiety was felt concerning the royalist doings in the Isle of Man, and warnings were sent to the commanders, both by sea and land, in North Wales and off its coast, to be on their guard. After Worcester, and the capture of the Earl of Derby, it was decided to reduce the island, and the affair was given into the Lord General's charge. He chose Col. Robert Lilburne to command, but it being presently decided that Lilburne should go to Scotland, he appointed Col. Duckenfield, Governor of Chester, in his place. He had evidently written to Col. Thos. Birch "to be assisting" to Lilburne, and now sent fresh orders in favour of Duckenfield. Col. Birch not only assisted in the usual sense of the phrase, but went over and aided in reducing the island, of which Duckenfield was appointed governor. (See letters and proceedings of the Council of State, *S. P. Interregnum* I., vols. xxii., xxiii., xxvi.).

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* *Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 32 (E. 640 (4)).

To the Honourable Col. Birch at Liverpool

[London], September 30, 1651.

SIR,

I do well assure you that before this, I sent you an order to be assisting in the expedition against the Isle of Man; but having heard nothing from you, I doubt whether my orders came to you. But now I thought fit to send this desire, that (Col. Lilburne being employed another way) you would be assisting to Col. Duckenfield in this service, who is the commander-in-chief.

I rest, your very loving friend,

O. CROMWELL.*

70

(AFTER LETTER CLXXXIV)

THE Committee for Compounding (newly re-organised in April 1650) had taken over the functions of the late Committee for Advance of Money, and was now sitting at Haberdashers' Hall, though their Treasury remained at Goldsmiths' Hall.

For the Honourable the Commissioners for Compounding at Haberdashers' Hall: These

1651, November 24. Cockpit.—Requesting them to show Mrs. Deborah Francklyn all the favour they can in giving her a speedy despatch of her business, whereby they will very much oblige himself. *Signed.*†

On November 19, Mistress Franklin petitioned Parliament, stating that her husband, John Franklin, M.P., of Marlborough, co. Wilts, had garrisoned Marlborough for the Parliament and held it till the enemy took it by force, and carried him prisoner to Oxford, "where he underwent much cruelty from them and plundering" and there died. Her son, Major Franklin, was slain at the storming of Lincoln, and she was deprived of "40*l.* a year in lands; 300*l.* a year by her husband's practice (*sic*), besides her son's arrears." She has been ordered 4*l.* a week from delinquents' estates, but cannot get it because all the moneys are now sent up to Goldsmiths' Hall. On this petition, Parliament ordered the Committee for Compounding to pay her the money, with arrears, but as these orders were often long delayed in execution, the Lord General wrote on her behalf, and consequently her business was at once despatched. (See *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1539.)

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* Printed in the Appendix to the *Sixth Report of the Historical MSS. Commissioners*, p. 447, from the original in the possession of Miss ffarington; but dated by mistake, 1657, and said to be addressed to Col. Rich.

† Original in *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* G., lxxxvi. 479.

71

(Before Letter CLXXXV)

(1) *To the Brethren of the Trinity House*

1652, May 25, Rochester.—Desiring them to recommend to the Commissioners of the Navy an able, godly and well-affected mariner, to take charge, as master, of the State's ship *Resolution*, now being fitted for the sea and ready to fall down the river.

Signed by Cromwell and by Dennis Bond.*

One Severne was appointed on June 10. See *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1652, p. 524.

(2) *To the Commissioners for the Monthly Assessments for the Army in the City of Chester*

1652, June 10, Whitehall.—Accompanying a declaration for the continuance of the assessments at the present rate for six months, and requiring the same to be collected with care and diligence,

(Signed) O. Cromwell.†

72

Daniel Searle, or Serle, merchant of London, had, as stated by his wife, suffered so much loss in 1642 and 1643 by his adherence to Parliament, that he was obliged to live beyond seas. He had been very forward in lending money to Parliament and had sustained many and great losses by capture of his goods at sea and seizure of his "estate in France." His wife had been forced to leave Exeter, as she could not be quiet among the King's party, "because she had been active in looking after the sick and wounded Parliament soldiers"; and money laden by her father, Humphrey Curson, on board ship, intended for her marriage portion, had been taken prize by the King's party and carried into Pendennis. Searle had made "discoveries" of many delinquents, which were carried on by his wife and a friend (who quarrelled about the profits), and prayed the money due for these, at any rate, as some reparation for his losses. (See *Cal. of Committee for Advance of Money*, p. 714.) There are many letters from Searle in Thurloe. He did good work in Barbados, regulating a militia and keeping in pretty fair order the prisoners who were shipped over there in large numbers by the Parliament.

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* MSS. of the Corporation of the Trinity House. Calendared in Appendix i. of the *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 248.

† MSS. of the Corporation of Chester. Calendared in Appendix i. of the *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 385.

For my worthy friends the Commissioners for Compounding sitting at Haberdashers' Hall, London

At the House, 27th inst. [August, 16]52.

GENTLEMEN,

Whereas Daniel Searle, Esq., Governor of the Barbadoes, being now there executing the trust reposed in him by the Parliament; the House in his absence taking special notice of the good services of late performed by him, and withal of the great losses and damages formerly by him sustained, have thought good to confirm and revive a former order, bearing date the third of March 1647, made for his relief.[1] My desire is therefore that you make speedy satisfaction unto his wife, according to the said orders, she being unable to attend here without much loss to her family.

I rest, your loving friend,
O. CROMWELL.*

73

(BEFORE LETTER CLXXXVI)

THE case of Lord Vaux of Harrowden and his wife, the Countess of Banbury, having come before the Committee for Compounding, in its character of Committee for Advance of Money, the Committee had ordered Brereton, their counsel, to draw up a report of it for Parliament, and had prayed the Speaker and the Lord General to present it.

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[1] On August 18. See *Commons Journals*, vii. 166. Also *Calendar of Committee for Advance of Money*, p. 716, where this letter is put to August 17, but it was evidently written after the order had been made in the House, and in order to hasten its execution. The figure in the date might be either 1 or 2.

* The concluding words only in Cromwell's own hand. Seal of arms. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* A., cviii. 54.

For the Commissioners for Advance of Money, sitting at Haberdashers' Hall: These

1652, November 18.—Owing to the important affairs of the Commonwealth, opportunity cannot be found to move Parliament in the case of Lord Vaux and the Countess of Banbury *v.* John White, late of Reading. They therefore request the Committee to decide the business themselves, agreeably to equity and conscience and the rules before them.

(Signed) William Lenthall, Speaker.
O. Cromwell.*

To which the Committee responded that they were very sorry for Lord Vaux, but could do nothing more than refer the case to Parliament.

74

To the Honourable the Commissioners for Compounding at Haberdashers' Hall: These

Cockpit, December 9th, 1652.

Gentlemen,

The Parliament having been graciously pleased to grant an order unto you for the payment of an hundred pounds unto one Thomas Cave, who was of my regiment at Marston Moor fight, in which service he lost both his eyes; of which sum, as I am informed, he hath hitherto received only twenty pounds, and that he is at present in a very sad and perishing condition unless speedily relieved; wherefore I earnestly desire you to take his distressed condition into consideration, and that you will cause the remainder of the said moneys to be forthwith paid unto him.

Not doubting of your ready compliance to so good and charitable a work,

I remain, gentlemen,
Your assured friend,
O. Cromwell. †

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* *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* A., cxlviii. 81. And see *Calendar of Committee for Advance of Money*, p. 1317.

† Signed. Seal of arms, broken. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* A., cxvi. 60. And see *Cal. of Committee for Advance of Money*, p. 855.

The Committee replied with a request to the General to report the matter to Parliament, as Cave's original order was of so old a date that they could do nothing without a fresh one.

75

(AFTER LETTER CLXXXVI)

THE following is a specimen of many short notes and orders written by Cromwell as Chancellor of Oxford University.

To Mr. John Owen, Vice-Chancellor, and the rest of the Convocation of the University of Oxford.

1652, December 28, Cockpit.—Understanding that there has been an augmentation of allowance granted to five of the Beadles of the University of Oxford by Convocation, and likewise by the Committee of Parliament for the University, which continued until 13 November last, and that there are the same grounds for the continuance thereof, he desires that it may be continued until a larger and more competent subsistence be found for them.

O. CROMWELL.*

76

(AFTER LETTER CLXXXVII)

For Captain Penn, Vice-Admiral of the Navy: These

1652[-3], February 25, Cockpit.—Recommending his kinsman, Mr. William Stuard,[1] who is desirous to serve under Captain Penn's command, and praying for him such countenance and encouragement as he shall be found to deserve.

Signed. Seal of arms.†

77

(AFTER LETTER CLXXXVIII)

FIVE days before the following letter was written, Cromwell had expelled the Rump Parliament, and now, with the power left in his own hands, had to take order for many things, lest work should stop for lack of authority to carry it on. The Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales was passed February 22nd, 1649-50 (see *Commons Journals*, vi. 369) and was to remain in force for three years, counting from March 25 following. It had just expired, and the Parliament had refused to renew it.

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* Copy in the Archives of Oxford University.
† Printed in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Portland MSS.*, ii. 85.

[1] Probably a relative of Mrs. Cromwell's.

For my Loving Friends the Commissioners named in a late Act of Parliament intituled an Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales

Whitehall, 25th April, 1653.

GENTLEMEN,

The late Parliament not having continued the Act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and there being no supreme power as yet settled by whose authority the liberty of the Gospel in Wales may be established, I would advise you to go on cheerfully in the work as formerly to promote these good things and protect good men in the said work, and put in execution the things settled by former acts and ordinances in that behalf. In so doing, the Lord will be with you and you shall have all fitting assistance and encouragement therein from myself, until those placed in the supreme power shall take further order. I rest, your loving friend,

O. CROMWELL.*

78

Speech to the Aldermen, May 20, 1653

ON May 20, 1653, Alderman Andrews presented a petition to his Excellency subscribed by himself and ten Aldermen, with some others. (MS. copy by Thomason, E. 697, 18). The account given in a newsletter amongst the *Clarke MSS.* is as follows: "Alderman Estwick made a large speech at the delivery of it, which was disrelished by the General. The substance of the petition was that the late Parliament might sit again, and that they might choose a new representative according to the ancient fundamental laws of the nation. The General told them he took it ill that they should go about to obstruct the proceedings for the good of the people; that himself and those about him (turning to the officers) would make good what was done with their bloods, etc.

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* Copy, entered in the order book of the Committee for Compounding for 1655, in connexion with some other papers on this subject. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* G., xxix. 9.

. . . Such as subscribed the petition [are] removed from their public employment." *Clarke Papers*, iii. 6.

Another account of Cromwell's speech says, "The General told them that what was done was done upon advice and debate before it was done, and it hath been since debated; that he and the officers of the Army were well satisfied in what was done and that there had come no complaints to them from the people of what was done; that the King's head was not taken off because he was King, nor the Lords laid aside because Lords, neither was the Parliament dissolved because they were a Parliament, but because they did not perform their trust; he told them that if any disturbance should hereafter arise about what was done that should occasion the shedding of blood, he should suspect them to be abettors and promoters thereof, and therefore warned them to look to the peace." *Tanner MS.* lii. 13.

79

(Before Speech I)

(1) *To the Commissioners for the Monthly Assessments for the Army in the City of Gloucester*

1653, June 10, Whitehall.—Desiring them to meet speedily and cause to be put into execution the declaration for the continuance of the assessment for six months which they will receive herewith.

(Signed) O. Cromwell.*

(2) *To the Mayor of the City of Chester*

1653, June 11, Cockpit.—For the due publication of accompanying declarations.

(Signed) O. Cromwell.†

79 *a*

(With Appendix 27)

The following letter, written, no doubt, in consequence of some of the often-recurring complaints of the merchants trading to foreign parts, is undated, but is placed in the Archives with the letter of June 9-19 (Appendix 27). It was probably written early in July. An intercepted letter from Paris, of July 13-23, mentions a letter from Cromwell to Mazarin, which was only an answer to one that the Cardinal had sent to him.[1] This is pretty certainly the letter of June 9. In another French letter, dated three days later than the other, the writer speaks of having seen two letters from the Lord General to Mazarin, both very kind and civil.[2] Probably the second of these was the letter here given.

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* Records of the Corporation of Gloucester. Calendared in Appendix ix. to the *Twelfth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 508.

† Records of the Corporation of Chester. Calendared in Appendix i. to the *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 386.

To his Eminence, Cardinal Mazarin

Plaise à vostre Eminence,[3]

Quelques marchans anglois m'ayans presenté la requeste cy enclose, et trouvant que ce que demandent les supplians est juste en soy et agréable à la pratique des nations qui sont en amitié, et sachant bien la grandeur du poste que vous tenez au service de sa Majesté, comme aussy l'amour que vous avez pour la justice, et la faveur que vous portez aux Anglois, j'ay bien voulu presenter à vostre Eminence l'affaire des supplians, afin que par vostre faveur ils puissent avoir justice, en quoy vous honorerez et obligerez extremement celuy qui est

De vostre Eminence,
Le tres humble serviteur,
O. Cromwell.*

80

(After Speech I)

In the first days of July the fleet appeared off the English coast, but it seems to have returned only to re-victual, and possibly because Blake was ill. The ships rendezvoused in Sole Bay, and Blake was sent ashore.

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[1] Thurloe, i. 347.

[2] Ibid., i. 357.

[3] In the margin, the translator has written: "J'ay suivy la phrase Angloise pour exprimer terme de grand respect".

* *Archives des Affaires Etrangères*, Paris. The editor is indebted for this letter to M. Jean Lemoine, Bibliothécaire au Ministère de la Guerre (who also kindly furnished the information to be found in the notes on pp. 288, 290, 291 above). This letter, like that of June 9-19, is a contemporary translation from an English original. The translator has evidently imitated Cromwell's signature.

See Monck's letters of July 5, 8 and 10 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1653, pp. 7, 15, 18). They set sail again on the 11th (*ibid.* p. 20).

For my Honoured Friend, Vice-Admiral Penn: These

July the 9th, 1653.

Sir,

It is not a little murmured in this place that the fleet came off from the enemy's coast at this time. Some who neither love you nor us, nor this cause, are apt to make their own constructions of it, yet I believe you satisfied your judgments in it. Indeed that which I apprehend is that the Dutch Commissioners may be a little high upon it, but that, I trust, will return upon their own heads in the end. I often think of our great loss in your dear General Deane, my most true[1] friend.

I wish that the honest interest he carried on may still be maintained amongst you. Do that, and all will do well; in that I shall desire to serve you to the uttermost as in all things else. I shall be glad to hear from you how your affairs go.

I hope the Lord has brought into the present Parliament men of approved godliness for the generality of them; and very few (if any) liable to just exception. Be not shy to let me know wherein I may express my love, for you shall find me your very true friend,

O. Cromwell.*

Cromwell would hardly have feared the Dutch being too "high" if he could have heard the report made by the Dutch admirals on their return home after the battle of June 2nd—that victory so saddened for the victors by General Deane's death—"I must speak out," said de Witt, "The English are our masters, and consequently masters of the sea" (quoted by Dr. Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 340).

81

(Before Letter CLXXXIX)

On August 10, it was resolved in the Council of State that some person should be sent as ambassador extraordinary to the Queen of

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[1] Misprinted "near" in *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Portland MSS.*

* Holograph. Seal of arms. Original in *Portland MSS.* Printed in *Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report on the Portland MSS.*, ii. 86.

Sweden with speed; his nomination to be considered next morning at an extraordinary meeting of the Council at 7 A.M. Cromwell's letter was no doubt the result of the consultation.

To Richard Salway, Esquire

August 11th, 1653.

SIR,

I send not thus suddenly to beg thanks for my late present, but to provoke your anger by being the messenger of the Council-desire of your pains in an embassy with Mr. Strickland for Swethesland, a thing too long neglected by us already, and may be of greater importance than any design we have of that kind anywhere else. Your friends here will not be wanting to you or yours in your absence (if God dispose your heart to accept the service). All accommodations will be suddenly ready, and indeed we think your stay there need not be long. I commit you to the Lord, and rest,

Your affectionate servant,
O. CROMWELL.

Van Trumpe was killed with a musket shot on his breast, the day of the fight.*

On the back of Cromwell's letter, Salway wrote the draft of his reply, excusing himself from undertaking the embassy on account of his "unfitness through want of freedom of spirit and bodily health." Strickland declined it also, and on September 14, Whitelocke was appointed.

82

(AFTER LETTER CLXXXIX)

To Mr. Laurens[1]

October the 4th, 1653.

[SIR],

The annexed letter of Sir Thomas Bendishe bespeaks the son of Mr. Gallilee to be a valiant man though now a captive, yet true and courageous to his trust. Such a man may do his country good service. His father assures me that two lines from my hand to you will procure his release. An act of so much charity to a man of valour and fidelity to his trust I cannot refuse to the father of such a son. Do your best for his speedy release and return, which cannot but be acceptable to this State, as it will be also unto, Sir, your affectionate friend,

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* Holograph. Original amongst the MSS. of Alfred Salway, Esq. Printed in the *Tenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix iv. p. 410.

[1] Lawrence was English agent at Constantinople.

O. Cromwell.*

Endorsed "Thomas Galilee."

The first notice of Galilee's imprisonment is in a letter from the Levant Company to Sir Thomas Bendish, of Jan. 24, 1652-3. In May he and his father petitioned the Lord General and Council and on June 4 an order was made in his favour. Laurence's endeavours do not seem to have been crowned with success, for in April 1654,[1] he and his father were still praying for his release. The business had to be conducted through the Venetian agent, as Galilee was in the Venetian service at the time of his capture.

33

(After Letter CXCI)

Many of the Ulster Scots, who had supported Parliament in the early days of the Civil War, being indignant at the execution of the King, and strong supporters of the Solemn League and Covenant, had joined Ormond in 1649. After the defeat at Lisnegarvy, they tried to make their peace with the Commonwealth, but refusing to take the Engagement, a certain number of them were ordered to be transplanted into Munster. Amongst these was Lord Claneboye (*i.e.*, the Earl of Clanbrassil), who at once appealed to the Committee for Relief on Articles of War; stating that from the beginning of the Rebellion he had adhered to the Parliament; that he had raised, and for eight years supported, a regiment of foot and troop of horse for the service, and that, although for a short time he had joined Ormond in 1649, he speedily laid down his arms and was included in the Articles granted by Cromwell to Ormond's Protestant Officers at Fethard (see p. 425 above). On receiving a statement from Cromwell that Sir Chas. Coote had certified that Claneboye rendered himself within the time limited, the Court of Articles on Aug. 22, 1653, issued an order that proceedings in relation to his Lordship's transplantation should be stayed, in spite of which, the Irish Commissioners went on with the business. On this, Lord Claneboye's wife (Lady Anne Carey, daughter of Henry, Earl of Monmouth), appealed to the Lord General, who thereupon wrote to Fleetwood as follows.

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* *Vera Copia. S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, xli. 16.

[1] See *State Papers* of these dates.

To Lieutenant-General Fleetwood

December 12, 1653.

Sir,

Upon the President of Connaught's and Colonel Venables' account of the Lord Claneboye, and of his sufferings for a long time in the service and cause of the Parliament, and of his early return and submission, after his having joined with the Earl of Ormond: I did write back unto the President for his lawful favour to him, and to his mother, of whom I had a good report, of which I have formerly acquainted you; and being informed that there were some thoughts of his being transplanted from his habitation and land, I did also by the same letter to yourself in July last desire a stop thereof. Since which time, I perceive upon the Lord Claneboye's petition to the Commissioners here for relief of persons upon Articles, they have adjudged that his transplantation is in diminution of his Articles, and that stay be had therein till their further order.

I have also had such perfect information, and from such hands which I dare trust, concerning the person of the Lord Claneboye, and of the worth of his mother, and in a special manner of his lady, and of the interest and relations which are like to prevail with him and his family, that for my own part I have good cause to believe that his not transplanting is not like to be hazardous or prejudicial to the public peace; and therefore I do purposely write these to you, that they may prevail with you to use some effectual course that the general rule of transplanting may not be extended as to him; his case in many things varying so much from most in that nation, that what is done in his behalf cannot be drawn into precedent for very few, if any. And therefore, upon the whole matter, I do seriously commend him therein unto your particular care, and intreat you to manage it the best way you can, both for success and expedition, because till his condition in this respect be settled he will be disenabled any way to deal with his tenants, for raising money to pay his composition. Your loving father,

O. Cromwell.*

Endorsed, A Copy of the Lord Protector's letter to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood.

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* Carte MS. 228, f. 6. Printed in *32nd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix i. p. 137; where also will be found an account of the further difficulties met with by Lord Claneboye, in regard to his composition.

Emboldened by her success, Lady Claneboye made a further appeal to Cromwell, concerning her husband's composition for his estate, but here she did not find him quite so willing to help. He referred her petition to Cols. Montague and Mackworth, and, upon their report, gave orders for an ordinance to be prepared for Lord Claneboye's easy composition, but afterwards saying that he was unsatisfied about the delinquents of Ireland, he declined to sign it, and referred the whole business to the authorities in Ireland.

84

For his Excellency the Lord Ambassador of the King of Spain

1653[-4] January 3.—In favour of the sons of the late Sir Peter Rycaut, to whom a debt of upwards of 23,000*l.* sterling is owing by the King of Spain. Desires that a speedy course may be taken to satisfy the petitioners, in default whereof letters of reprisal will be granted them.*

85

Speech to the Ministers of the French Church of London

1653-4, January 5.—An address having been presented by the French Ministers thanking him for his encouragement and praying for his protection, his Highness replied to the following effect:—

"That he saw we were pleased to take notice of what he had formerly said to us, wherein he had declared his heart to us, and had said it indeed, and did say it still: that we should go on in one way, and that it should be his joy to see we would do as we had said we should; to live in the love which is in Christ Jesus, and to honour our profession with a holy life (though for his part he knew no other ways but we did so) for whatsoever our profession were, that is that would do it, namely the power of godliness. He did exhort us then to go on in doing so, and promised us his protection, and that he would be ready to serve us. That he did hope that God would grant him the grace to keep his ark in these nations; and desired our prayers for him, that he might improve that authority which the Lord had given him for the good of God's people." *Clarendon MSS.*, xlvii. 268.

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* Thurloe, iii. 75. The ambassador's reply is in the same volume, p. 113.

86

(Before Letter CXCII)

The ministers in Scotland were at this time very favourable to the royal cause—"trumpets of sedition," Lilburne called them. Oliver hoped no doubt that his personal influence might do something, and therefore, under pretext of consulting them about ecclesiastical affairs in England, sent for three of the "Remonstrators," as they were called. Middleton was at this time expected in Scotland to join and lead Glencairne's insurrection; indeed according to a letter from Lilburne to the Protector of March 4th he had already landed in Sutherland. See Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 52.

For the Honourable Colonel [*Robert*] *Lilburne, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland*

Cockpit, 7th of March, 1653[-4].

Sir,

Having some occasion to speak with some godly ministers and Christians to accommodate the interest and to beget a good understanding between the people of God of different judgments in this nation; and remembering well you did once hint to me some purpose of Mr. Patrick Gilasbie's thoughts to come up hither,[1] in order (as I suppose) to somewhat relating to the people of God in Scotland; I have thought fit to require the coming up of Mr. John Levingston, Mr. Patrick Gilasby and Mr. John Meinzies, to which purpose I have here enclosed sent to each of them a letter appointing them the time of their appearance here. I desire you to speed their letters to them, especially to Mr. John Meinzies, who is so far remote as Aberdeen. I desire you to let them have 20*l.* apiece to defray the charges of their journey; let it be out of the Treasury in Scotland. Not doubting of your care and diligence herein, I rest,

Your loving friend,
Oliver P.

I desire you to continue your care to look out after Middleton upon the coast, for I hear he was driven back by foul weather.

I desire you not to make too public the ends of sending for these gentlemen.*

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[1] On Feb. 7 Lilburne had written, "I am informed some of the Remonstrators are thinking to make application to your Highness very shortly, and intend Mr. Patr. Galeaspe as their Commissioner." *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 41.

* *Egerton MS.* 2620, f. 11. Signed only by Cromwell. Endorsed by William Clarke.

On March 16, Lilburne replied to this letter that he had given the letters to Mr. Galeaspe and Mr. Levingston, who had resolved to wait upon his Highness, and seemed sensible that it might be a good providence which called them to do so. Mr. Menzies' letter had been sent to him. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 57.

For an account of affairs in Scotland at this time, see Gardiner's *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 389 *et seq.*

87

One of the Letter books of the Council of Ireland contains a large number of letters from the Protector, Council of State and Parliament of England. Those from the Protector are all in relation to petitions sent to him, and so much of the same character throughout, that only a few of the most interesting have been selected for this collection, as specimens of the rest. Mr. Prendergast printed one of these, in favour of Edmund Spenser's grandson, in his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, and Miss Hickson printed four of them in her *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, but not quite accurately. The fact that the Protector wrote all these letters—there are about a hundred of them—is important, as showing his desire to be fair, even to an Irishman.

For the Right Honourable the Commissioners of the Commonwealth in Ireland

Whitehall, 22nd of March, 1653[-4].

Gentlemen,

Having received the two enclosed petitions and papers of John Prendergast and the widow Brooke, whose cases have been so represented to me, which, if true, may deserve some tender regard; wherefore I thought fit to recommend 'them' to your consideration, that they may be permitted to reside in and enjoy their present estates and habitations, unless there be some just cause to the contrary. However, I would have their transplantation to be suspended until I receive from you an account of their particular cases and conditions and that you receive further order therein. I rest

Your loving friend,
Oliver P.*

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* *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.* *Commonwealth Council Book*, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 31. Public Record Office, Dublin.

88

Speech to the Corporation of Guildford.

On April 18, 1654, the Protector consented to receive a deputation from Guildford, brought by the Mayor, certain of the Aldermen, the Steward and the Bailiff of that town. On being introduced to his presence, he "left speaking of some other gentlemen and came towards them," took the petition, "went to the window, and heedfully read it." The petition,—after assuring His Highness of his suppliants' belief that out of constraint rather than desire he had taken upon his shoulders the great and ponderous burden of the government, and testifying their contentment that by his countenancing of a godly and learned ministry and making of honest and learned Judges he had shown that he meant to uphold religion and justice;—expressed their conviction that he would vouchsafe to their ancient Corporation the privileges they had hitherto had, and finally, coming to the point, presumed to make known that their "minister of Trinity and Maries parishes" was lately dead, that the living was in his Highness' gift, and that they humbly prayed it might be granted to such a one as they should certify to be a godly and learned minister, and to no other.

To this the Protector made reply:—

Gentlemen,

I have read your paper, wherein what you there express touching my taking of the government upon me, you say what is truth; I did not desire it, nor have I, I am sure, told you so. I believe God put it into your hearts; I shall desire your prayers that I may do as you have expressed, for God is my bottom and in Him only do I trust. As for your desire of a minister, I think I have not granted the living away, and upon your making choice of such an one as your paper mentions, I shall take order that you shall have your suit.*

89

(After Letter CXCV)

For General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of our Forces in Ireland

Whitehall, July 20, 1654.

Sir,

It is our will and pleasure that the papers of Patrick Rooth, a maimed soldier, here inclosed, be taken into consideration by

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Several Proceedings etc., no. 239. (E. 227, 27.) Reprinted in *Cromwelliana*, p. 139.

the Commissioners for Sequestrations or whom else it may concern, and that speedy justice may be done him as to the obtaining of his right. But if he be barred by the delinquency of his ancestors, and it be thought inconvenient to restore those houses and lands to him by making a precedent of that kind, yet in regard he hath manifested his good affection to the service of the Commonwealth and hath lost his arm therein, we do think fit and do hereby order that the Commissioners for Sequestrations do put him in possession or permit him to receive the profits of so much of the said lands and houses as may yield him a subsistence for himself, his wife and children, and that the true state of his case be certified to us; and it is our further pleasure that the Governor of Wexford do permit him to live there with his wife and family and do show him kindness and give him encouragement so long as he shall demean himself honestly and well. All which is recommended to your special care to see the same effectually performed.

Your loving father,

Oliver P.*

90

Richard Salway, it will be remembered, had refused to go to Sweden, partly on the score of health, partly because he had not "freedom of spirit" to act. Perhaps his health interfered again with his plans, for he did not go to Turkey, and Bendish was continued there.

To the Company of Merchants trading in the Levant Seas

1654, August 14, Whitehall.—Announcing the appointment of Richard Salway, Esq., to succeed Sir Thomas Bendish as ambassador at Constantinople.

(Signed) Oliver P.†

91

(Before Letter CXCVI)

For an account of the disastrous fire which, on April 18, 1653, nearly destroyed the town of Marlborough, see Waylen's *History of Marlborough*, pp. 257-269.

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* *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 38. Public Record Office, Dublin.

† From the MSS. of Alfred Salway, Esq. Printed in the *Tenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix iv. p. 410.

The Council issued a declaration on May 18 following, recommending the inhabitants to the charity of all well-disposed persons and ordering a collection to be made for their relief, and for re-edifying the town. Aldermen Andrewes, Tichborne, Ireton (brother of Henry Ireton) and twenty-seven others were named as a committee to manage the affair. (*S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, I. 69, pp. 100-105.) But the subscriptions did not nearly meet the need and the Protector now appeals to his army.

Circular Letter to the Army

Whitehall, Nov. 20th, 1654.

Loving Friends,

Whereas it pleased the Lord to lay His afflicting hand upon the inhabitants of the town of Marlborough in the county of Wilts, on the 28th of April, 1653, by a sudden and terrible fire, which burnt and consumed (within the space of four hours) the church, market-house, and 250 dwelling-houses, besides divers barns, stables, and other out-houses, with most of their goods, to the loss of above £70,000, as hath been made appear by sufficient testimony, whereby many of the poor inhabitants were reduced to a low and miserable condition, even without hopes of a future subsistence, had not the Lord in mercy by His good hand of Providence enlarged the hearts of some good people to extend their charity towards the rebuilding the said town, and relieving of the necessities of the poor inhabitants thereof; and yet (as we are credibly informed by persons intrusted with the distribution of the monies collected for that purpose) the monies so collected do not amount to the sixth part of their said losses, so that many men's houses lie unbuilt, and divers who have begun building, are necessitated to give over in the midst thereof, being no way able to finish them, by reason of their yet extreme want:—We do therefore make it our earnest desire, that you, the officers and soldiers under our command in England and Scotland, would take the premises into your serious consideration, cheerfully to impart something to be deducted out of your next month's pay for the further relief of those poor distressed people, towards which our army in Ireland hath already unanimously manifested large bowels of compassion; which we hope will be a good example for you to follow. And the rather, for that the town was the first in the West of England that declared for and took up arms in the defence of that cause which the Lord hath so eminently appeared for, and hitherto carried on, by which means they then sustained exceeding great losses both by fire and plundering: of which we need say no more, but shall conclude with that saying "He that giveth to the Poor, lendeth to the Lord," and rest

Your loving friend,
OLIVER P.*

92

Report of a Speech to the Committee for retrenching the Forces

A POINT concerning which Parliament was very eager at this time was the "slighting" of some of the garrisons, as a part of the scheme for the reduction of the army. A committee was appointed to confer with the Protector, but did not find him very amenable. After their second conference, on Nov. 23, 1654, they reported that as to some of the garrisons he gave no answer at all.

As to Warwick, he said, it was of little importance and of no great use to be continued, and "for Chepstow, because it was his own house [part of Lord Worcester's estate] he would not have a garrison there at the Parliament's charge," but Chester was a place of strength and had cost much blood; Shrewsbury was a fortress "that if any enemy should get into it and possess it all the forces of England and Scotland could not be able to force them out;" Bristol Castle was of no great strength, yet convenient for a citadel; Bristol Fort "was very regular and might be kept with a small number;" also "it was the practice of all nations (and he mentioned that of France) that in all populous cities there used to be garrisons;" and "as to Hereford, it lay near unto, if not in the very centre of North and South Wales [*i.e.*, between them] those mountainous countries which he feared had not forgot their mountainous qualities, and for religion and other things not so well qualified as might be desired. The countries and people there were not so well-affected as he could wish;" and therefore all these places were fit for further consideration.

"As to the field forces, he said he was willing to disband so many of them as could be disbanded with the public safety, and he conceived it was both his and our meaning to prefer safety before any manner of charge."

As to Ireland, he had lately received a packet from the Commander-in-Chief there, and when he had perused it the Parliament should receive an account of it.

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* Printed in *Clarke Papers*, ii. xxxvii.

"As to Scotland, he said he did not know of any one man, meaning company, of horse or foot, that would [*i.e.*, could] be disbanded there. He had received intelligence from the Commander-in-Chief there, and from the officers in the several parts of it. In general, the country was wholly very much disaffected to the present government. The Presbyterian and Cavalier interest were so complicated as he did not see how any forces there could be lessened with any safety until these two interests could be satisfied, and which way to do that he did not find; they being constantly blown up by the enemies beyond the seas, and the distempers there were so great as the Commanders there did call for more forces, so far it was from abating any; and some gentlemen of that nation who sat amongst us knew these things to be true, and could present them to us.

"As to the forces in England, the numbers were but few, the condition of the people such as the major part a great deal are persons disaffected and engaged against us.

"Notwithstanding all this, he would not say there could be no lessening, and therefore he would be willing to entertain a conference to that purpose, and to do therein whatsoever might stand with the public interest and safety."[1]

Whereupon it was resolved "that the said Committee be continued, and that they be further empowered from time to time, as occasion shall be offered, to confer with his Highness the Lord Protector." *Commons Journals*, vii. 388.

93

Speech to M. de Bordeaux, Ambassador from France

Scattered through the despatches of the various Ambassadors sent to the Court of the Protector are relations of audiences with his Highness, and of what he said thereat. By far the most important of these despatches are the letters sent by Bordeaux to M. De Brienne, the French Secretary of State, and to Cardinal Mazarin, which have been often quoted in the notes in these volumes. Bordeaux was a shrewd observer and seems to have got into touch with more than one influential Englishman, who supplied him with accurate information. One of the most interesting of the interviews with the Protector described by him was held on Nov. 28-Dec. 8, 1654, on the subject of the treaty then being negotiated with France, and is here given as a specimen of the rest.

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[1] Goddard's *Parliamentary Journal*, in Burton, i. xci.-iii.

The Ambassador began by complaining of the little return made to the King of France's advances, of the long delays and the apparent disinclination shown to conclude a peace; and stated that his master, in order to make an end, was willing to accept the English proposals. He demanded, however, that the power of the arbitrators to be appointed should be limited, and that deputies from the French rebels should not be admitted into England; and insisted—although assuring the Protector of his esteem and respect—on the pre-eminence of the title of king and the dignity of the Crown of France.

"M. le Protecteur commença sa response par des protestations générales de son inclination à l'accommodement. Elles furent suivies de quelques mauvoises raisons qui avoient causé tant de remises, et venant au particulier des difficultez qui restent, il tesmoigna sur le tiltre que sa consideration particulière ne feroit point d'obstacle pourveu que la nation conservast sa dignité, et quant à la limitation du pouvoir des arbitres, il la remist à un plus ample examen pas mes commissaires. Mais il s'estendist fort sur la clause réciproque de l'article secret, pour prouver qu'elle n'estoit pas juste, en termes généraulx, puisque sa Majesté n'accordoit que l'esloignement de quelques particuliers dénommez, et ensuite entra en des considerations que les Religionnaires de France seroient exclus d'implorer l'assistance d'Angleterre s'ils estoient persécuttez, protestans néanmoings que bien loing de songer à les destacher de l'obéissance, comme on luy avoit imputé, qu'il s'armeroit contr'eulx s'ils vouloient mal à propos troubler le repos de la France. La fin de son discours fut que j'avois finy le mien bien brusquement, et que l'Angleterre seroit tousjours en estat de se defendre contre ses lennemis." *

Bordeaux replied—demurring especially to the fact that while they talked of arrangement, the Protector was reserving a pretext for war, in relation to those of the Religion in France—that it was against all usage of states to meddle in each other's domestic affairs (instancing his master's example in relation to the Catholics of England) and that it would open the door to all the "députations" of rebels in France. The Protector seemed to acquiesce, but merely said that these differences could be arranged by the Commissioners whom he would send on the following day, when Bordeaux should certainly have a precise answer. The Commissioners however failed to appear. On the 4-14 December they had still not come, and only said that they had not yet received his Highness's instructions, but were sure he would not depart

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* *Bordeaux to Brienne*, Dec. 4-14, *French Transcripts*, *Public Record Office*.

from his first answer. Therefore, the Ambassador said, nothing now remained but "de recevoir la loy ou de rompre"; and, as the Protector's power seemed "à couvert de tout danger," he thought it might be wiser to give way.

94

Preparations were now in hand for the great expedition to the West Indies, for a full account of which, see the *Narrative of General Venables*, etc., published by Mr. Firth for the Royal Historical Society, and *Memorials of Sir William Penn*. Also *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 342 *et seq.* "My nephew Whitstone" was the son of Oliver's third, and, as it is said, his favourite sister, Catherine, whose first husband was Roger Whitstone of Whittlesea, in Cambridgeshire.

To the Right Honourable General Penn at Portsmouth: These. Haste, post haste

Whitehall, November 27, 1654.

General Penn,

I heard this day of the delivery of the *Essex* frigate, for which I bless God, and I am very glad to hear of the forwardness of your business. I hope after all these difficulties which we have passed through, the Lord will give you happy gales and prosperous success to the great enterprise you have in hand; indeed you shall not want my prayers. I sent for Mr. Greenhill and two of his members, who professed they will follow you with their prayers also, and did verily believe the same for the rest of his church. Your instructions will be suddenly with you, I trust.

I have committed my nephew Whitstone to you, and I desire you to mind him of good things and to do him good as you find he deserves.

I must commend also to you young Smithsby, who hath been of my life-guard. I believe him very stout, and one that takes great affection to the sea, and has been very much there of late. I pray you own him for my sake. He is my kinsman, and if you have any employment that way, or which may fall, commend him to it, as you shall judge him fit, and after you have seen his behaviour. Let me assure you, I shall be as mindful of your business which you have left in trust with me as you can desire.[1] The Lord be with you. I rest,

Your very loving friend,

Oliver P.*

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[1] Probably referring to the grant lately made to Penn of lands in Ireland.

* Seal of Arms. In Thurloe's writing, signed by Cromwell. The original is at Welbeck. Printed in the *Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report on the Portland MSS.*, ii. 88.

95

For the Right Honourable General Penn: These

Whitehall, December the 1st, 1654.

General Penn,

I do hereby commend to you my kinsman, Mr. George Smythsby, desiring that he may be assured that he shall have some place that shall fall within the fleet under your command. And in the meanwhile that you take care that he have an entertainment becoming a gentleman, and one related to me; and I do the rather engage him in this present expedition, because his affections and his abilities, of which good testimony hath been given to me, do incline him chiefly to sea service. I would he should have encouragement to all worthy undertakings, and that for my sake you so observe his demeanours, that his virtue and religious inclinations may revive my letters to you on his behalf, and if at any time he shall remind you of this engagement of mine, I nor he may be forgotten by you. I rest,

Your loving friend,
Oliver P.*

96

Cromwell's Admiral was far from satisfied with the amount of power given to him. While he himself had only general instructions, more detailed ones were communicated to Venables, the leader of the land forces, from whom he was to receive them.

For the Right Honourable General Penn

20 December, 1654.

General Penn,

I hope before this letter comes to your hand that the first squadron will be a good part of their way to the Land's End, and I hope also that you are hastening what you can the remainder of the fleet. Indeed I understand so much of your care and industry in this business that I cannot but acknowledge it, and let you know how much you make me beholding to you, and I pray you, persist therein. I do humbly hope the Lord will have an eye upon this business, and will bless it, and therefore, if it be His business, it will certainly provoke every good heart to eye Him in it, and to be able to overcome everything in a man's own heart that may anyways lie as an impediment in the way, that may hinder the bringing of it to its perfection. And in this I have full assurance of you, notwithstanding I have had some knowledge of a little dissatisfaction remaining with you, which I hope by this time will be removed; and I desire you it may be so. You have your own command, full and entire to yourself, nothing interfering with it, nor in the least lessening you. The command at land is also distinct, and there the general at land must exercise his authority, and thus I trust you will both consent to carry on the public work without hesitation, and God forbid that anything either in you or him should in the least hinder that. I hope it shall not, and know assuredly upon the experience you have had of me, that I shall be as tender of your honour and as sensible to uphold you in your quality as you shall be to desire me. The Lord make your journey prosperous and bless you. And know that I am

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* In Thurloe's handwriting, signed by Cromwell. Seal of arms. From the original at Welbeck. Printed in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Portland MSS.*, ii. 88.

Your loving friend,
(Signed) OLIVER P.*

97

(AFTER LETTER CXCVI)

For General Penn: These

Whitehall, 15th of January, 1654[-5].

SIR,

I did apprehend and took it as granted that you would make my nephew Whitstone your lieutenant in this expedition; and I acquainted him and his friends therewith, who did depend thereupon. But I understand lately that my nephew is disappointed or at least delayed of that employment. Truly I have entertained such good hopes of the young man[1] from these characters I have received of him, and that from yourself, that I should be loath he should be discouraged or neglected. And therefore I desire you to put your kinsman into some other command in the fleet, and let Whitstone be lieutenant to yourself, according to your promise to me; it being my desire that he should continue under your eye and care. Not doubting of your readiness herein, I commend you to the grace and protection of God, and remain, your loving friend,

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* From the original at Welbeck. In Thurloe's writing, signed by the Protector at the top. Printed in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Portland MSS.*, ii. 88.

[1] These hopes seem to have been disappointed. See *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1658-9, p. 161.

Oliver P.*

99

There are two copies of the following letter among the *Clarke MSS.* Neither is dated, but one is headed, "Letter to Lieut.-Col. Wilks." From its position amongst the other letters, Mr. Firth believes that it should be dated between January 14 and 18, 1654[-5]. For the Marlborough collection, see p. 452 above. So late as the May of this year 1655, the inhabitants were petitioning that the money which should have gone to their relief was still detained in the hands of the collectors. See *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1655, p. 176. Of Wilkes, Mr. Firth says that he "was one of the Protector's most devoted adherents, and to him Cromwell unbosomed himself with the greatest frankness." *Clarke Papers*, ii. xxxi.

[*To Lieut.-Col. Wilks.*]

[Jan. 1654-5]

Sir,

I received your letter, and as to the part which concerns the collection for Marlborough I shall speak with Major Haines[1] thereabout, by whom I expect to know what Colonel Read hath done thereupon.

The other part [of your letter][2] is full of very loving and kind expressions of the heartiness of your affection to me, and of your tenderness and sensibleness of the burden of my condition; and truly it was to me very seasonable, because if I mistake not, my exercise of [that] little faith and patience I have was never greater; and were it not that I know whom I have believed, the comforts of all my friends would not support me, no not one day. I can say this further to you, that if I looked for anything of help from men, or yet of kindness, it would be from such as fear the Lord, for whom I have been ready to lay down my life, and I hope still am, but I have not a few wounds from them, nor are they indeed, in this sad dispensation they are under (being divided in opinion and too much in affection ready to fall foul upon one another, whilst the enemy to be sure unite to purpose to their common destruction), in a capacity to receive much good or to minister good one to another, through want of communion in love; so that whosoever labours to walk with an even foot between the several interests of the people of God for healing and accommodating their differences is sure to have reproaches and anger from some of all sorts. And truly[1] this is much of my portion at the present, so unwilling are men to be healed and atoned;[2] and although it be thus with me, yet the Lord will not let it be always so. If I have innocency and integrity the Lord hath mercy and truth, and will own it. If in these things I have made myself my aim, and designed to bring affairs to this issue for myself, the Lord is engaged to disown me; but if the work be the Lord's, and that they are His purposes which He hath purposed in His own wisdom, He will make His own councils stand; and therefore let men take heed lest they be found fighters against Him, especially His own people. I hear things are very troublesome through the discontent of some amongst you, who will quickly be made manifest by their fruits. And I am persuaded the Lord will not suffer His people always to be deceived by such pretenders and pretences to righteousness and justice, and care not how unjustly and unrighteously they walk, not to bring forth righteousness and justice, as they pretend, but most abominable unrighteousness, wickedness, impiety, and confusion upon all the world[3] God hath wrought in the midst of us. I do verily suspect most guilty herein, because I find men acting here upon the same principles who have conceived to themselves also great hopes from the divisions and discontents amongst you, who have had such expectations from some notable design to be acted in Scotland from some considerable person there, that they have formed their work here of like wickedness and confusion to be contemporary here; and truly it is thus they are exciting all discontented humours and persons to stir, and to go into arms, having framed their declarations wherein they have a singular compliance with the malignant party, as their declarations will manifest, wherein they gratify them beyond what ever was done for them, by which the cavalier party is so encouraged that they do account this spirit, principle, and motions of these men, as the likeliest way to bring them into their former interest that ever yet they had, and of this we have a very full discovery.[1] Besides we find that divers are very highly acting that interest, and are preparing great quantities of arms to that purpose, of which through the goodness of God we have made a full discovery, and the business is become so naked and open, that indeed if all the people of God had one heart and spirit, yet it would be all little enough to man's[2] judgment to preserve the interest of the people of God. We have apprehended divers persons of quality who have commissions from Charles Stuart and are possessed of many arms to carry on their work, and in the discovery hereof the Lord hath appeared very gracious to us. The Lord stablish, strengthen, and keep your minds entire, and make His people of one heart, and give them one lip; and I pray you shew your fidelity in standing by and sticking to your honest General Geo. Monck, who is a simple-hearted man, and as you have opportunity[3] exhort all to do the same[4]; and let the honest officers be as diligent to make peace and keep it there as wicked men who are the instruments of Satan are busy to bring in confusion. I commit you to the Lord, and rest,

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* From the original at Welbeck. In Thurloe's writing, signed by Oliver. Printed in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Portland MSS.*, ii. 89.

[1] Or "Baynes."

[2] These words omitted in one of the texts.

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[1] "surely" in the other text.

[2] *i.e.*, made at one with each other.

[3] *Sic*, but perhaps should be "work."

Your loving friend,
OLIVER P.*

With the above compare Letters CLXXXIX and CXCIX.

93

(AFTER LETTER CXCVII)

For the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland

Whitehall, 24 Jan. 1654[-5].

DEAR CHARLES,

This bearer, Mr. Nathaniel Weare, who came from New England, hath a certificate from some ministers there that he is a godly sober Christian. And upon some discourse with him, I find he is willing with some friends of his to bring their families from New England and to come to live in Ireland. Wherefore I earnestly desire of you that they may have your countenance and all furtherance and assistance therein, and that when they come there they may be admitted to take leases of lands in Ireland, such as may be convenient for them to plant upon at easy and reasonable rates, and that upon all occasions they may have all lawful favour and encouragement from you. I rest,

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[1] Dr. Gardiner says of this passage: "Obviously Oliver had failed to discern that this extraordinary phenomenon was to be explained not by the sinfulness of mankind, but by a common detestation of a government based on the power of the sword." *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 95.

[2] "many" in the other text.

[3] "at your own opportunity" *ibid.*

[4] "so" *ibid.*

* Copy. Printed in the *Clarke Papers*, ii. 239.

Your loving father,
OLIVER P.*

100

(BEFORE LETTER CXCVIII)

LETTERS and Instructions in relation to the Royalist insurrection.

(1) *To Col. William Crowne*

1654-5, March 5, Whitehall.—Sending him commissions for a regiment which he is to command for the protection of the honest party and securing of Shrewsbury garrison, "it being justly apprehended that the Cavalier party intends speedy execution of a very evil design" in those parts, because of the weakness of the garrison and the multitude of malignants thereabouts. Sending him also a commission for a troop, as he has done to the Governor of Shrewsbury, and ordering him to repair thither and advise with his friends about this and other instructions given to the Governor.†

This was given in by Col. Crowne with a petition to the Protector on July 26—stating that having only received it on March 7, the very day before Shrewsbury Castle was to have been surprised, he had been obliged to send in forthwith 50 horse and foot of his own friends, whose charges he had himself paid, and praying for re-imbursement. The Governor of Shrewsbury was Col. Humphrey Mackworth.

(2) *For the Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Counsellor, General Desbrowe, Major-General of the West*

1654[-5] March 11.—"Whereas there is an insurrection in the west by the Cavaliers, who have armed themselves, and seized upon the judges of assize at Salisbury, and proceed on to commit other violences and outrages upon the people: he is desired to repair with his regiment to the west, and take into his charge the troops of Col. Berry, Col. Twisleton and all other forces, and to use his best endeavour to suppress the rising and put the country in a posture of defence. With writ of assistance.*

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* *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 48. Public Record Office, Dublin.

† Copy. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, xcix., no. 91, i.

(3) *To Col. Philip Jones, one of our Council*

1654[-5] March 11, Whitehall.—Intelligence having been received "that the Cavalier party, who have long prepared for a general insurrection through England, were ready to put it in execution upon Thursday night last [March 8], and some of them did in order thereunto meet together near Shrewsbury, for the surprisal of that garrison, and others of them in North Wales": he is instructed to repair forthwith to Shrewsbury, there to inform himself of the design, confer with the Governor and Col. Crowne, and examine those apprehended upon the business and any others whom he thinks fit. He is further to acquaint the gentlemen of the country with "the danger that the Cavalier party would put the nation into," and to put the country in the best posture of defence he can; holding correspondence with Col. Berry and Col. Hacker concerning "the insurrection intended and in part executed in Nottinghamshire (who have been instructed to hold the like with him) and also with Col. Lilburne and Col. Bright, high sheriff of Yorkshire.†

(4) [*To Col. Berry?*]

Whitehall, March 12, 1654[-5].

SIR,

I writ unto you the last night by an express, and enclosed in my letter an information received of a rendezvous which the Cavaliers had at Rugford[1] in Nottinghamshire upon Thursday night last. We have since heard that there were endeavours of rising in other places at the same time, as you will see by the enclosed. We do not doubt but you have prosecuted with effect the directions you have already received: however we have thought it necessary to send the party himself who gave the information, and was amongst them at Rugford, who knows the parties mentioned in the information, and likewise their dwellings. It will be of great use unto us that this business be followed home, and examined to the bottom; for which purpose I desire you[1] to go upon the place and examine the people of the Inn and other persons, who may probably give you information therein; and as you find or suspect any to be of their party, forthwith to seize them, their arms and horses. There is no question to be made but Sir Roger Cowper[2] is in it, and so [is] Sir George Saville.[3] I hope you have secured their persons and horses. If you shall understand that any of these people are gone into other countries,[4] give notice thereof to the forces who are next unto them; and I would have you correspond with Col. Jones, whom I have sent to Shrewsbury to examine things there, and also with Col. Lilburne and the High Sheriff of Yorkshire; and let them know how you find things. I desire you to use all diligence and care in the prosecution of these things. It will not be difficult to find out most of the persons who were at the aforesaid rendezvous. I rest

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* Thurloe, iii. 221. † *Ibid.*, 220.

[1] Rufford Abbey.

Your loving friend,
[OLIVER P.]*

101

To the Attorney General[5]

1654-5, March 19.—Desiring him to prepare a commission for the Admiralty Commissioners and Generals at Sea, for the impressing of mariners and workmen, the taking up of ships, the staying of vessels in the Thames and the punishment of such as refuse impress, and giving strict commands against taking corrupt reward, using sinister practises or impressing the officers of ships. With writ of assistance.†

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[1] "with Col. Hacker" *erased.*

[2] Of Thurgarton, co. Notts.

[3] Of Rufford Abbey. Sir Roger was taken (Thurloe, iii. 229), but Sir George Saville was away from home at the time (*ibid.* iv. 598), which shows how the rising had been precipitated.

[4] *i.e.*, other districts or counties.

[5] Edmund Prideaux.

* Thurloe, iii. 222. Draft, in Thurloe's handwriting. Waylen appears to say that this letter was to Whalley, but from the instructions to Jones, *above*, it would appear to have been to either Berry or Hacker, probably to Berry. Moreover in Thurloe, iv. 598, is a letter of intelligence which looks very much as if it were the answer to this; and which was pretty certainly written by Berry. Its contents show that it was neither from Whalley or Hacker.

† *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* I., lxxv., 732-3. Copy in letter-book.

102

To Col. Humphrey Mackworth, Governor of Shrewsbury

1655, April 10.—Ordering him to disband his company and receive another from Worcester, that the place may be in better security, as many of the townspeople cannot be so well relied on for exact duty as strangers.*

Enclosed in a petition of Col. Mackworth to the Protector, July 24, 1655, praying for a week's pay for his own company beyond what the Army Committee has allowed him.

103

For the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland

Whitehall, the 26 April 1655.

Sir,

The enclosed petition of Patrick Lord Coursey having been represented to me some days since, I could not content myself with a bare reference of it to you, but thought myself obliged to recommend it to your particular care and consideration, being persuaded that upon enquiry into his demeanour and carriage during the rebellion and troubles in Ireland, you will find it to have been very much as it is represented by his petition, and therefore it would be very unequal that he should be put into the same condition with the worse of Irish, who hath differenced himself from them by his peaceable living, and frequent kindness to the English, which certainly was not the intention of the law which enjoins the transplantation, nor I believe is it your meaning so to execute it. Therefore I desire you to advise with the Council herein, and to give such speedy direction concerning him, that he do not suffer for want thereof. It being in my opinion a most unmerciful and ungodly thing to put him to such an extremity; wherefore I again must press you on his behalf, and rest,

Your loving father,

Oliver P.†

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* Copy. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, xcix. no. 82, i.

† *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 55. Public Record Office, Dublin.

104

For the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland

Whitehall, 10th of May, 1655.

Dear Charles,

This poor man's case (if it be as it is represented in his petition), is very sad and deserves to be pitied. I believe he is in great extremity of want and poverty, and therefore I earnestly desire you to take his condition into your consideration, and let something be effectually done for him, whereby he and his family may have a subsistence; indeed I have been affected with the sense of his distressed condition, and therefore pray do not forget to take some course for his relief. I rest,

Your loving father,
Oliver P.[*]

In the margin, "James Barry."

105

For the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland

Whitehall, 23 May, 1655.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

We being given to understand by Sir John Temple that he intends presently to return into Ireland, and settling himself there constantly to attend the execution of his place of Master and Keeper of the Rolls there, have thought fit in a particular manner by these our letters to recommend him unto you. He is a person who out of his experience of the affairs of that country is very well able to do service there, and may be useful to the public, not only in that employment which he hath so long continued in, but in anything else which you shall hold fit to commit unto his charge. We shall therefore desire you to take special notice of him and of the good service which he hath formerly done in that country, and giving him all manner of encouragement for the time to come, to take it into your care that he may enjoy all the rights, privileges and advantages belonging to his said place. And whereas we are informed that notwithstanding the great care and diligence he hath used by himself and his Deputy for the preservation of the Rolls, maintaining clerks to attend upon that service during all the late troubles, though he made no benefit to himself out of the said office nor received the yearly fee of one hundred and fifty pounds belonging thereunto and granted unto him by patent under the great seal of Ireland,[1] we do think fit and do therefore desire you to take the arrears of his said fee so far into consideration as to cause them to be examined and an account of them truly stated and to make payment of some such part of them as may enable him to go on with diligence and cheerfulness in the public service there. We rest,

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[*] *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8. $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 57. Public Record Office, Dublin.

Your very loving friend,
OLIVER P.*

106

To the Duana of Algier

1655, June 1.—"Our court at Westminster"—Requesting that the goods of Edmund Casson[2] deceased, who in 1646 was sent over to Algier as agent for the Parliament of England (which goods the Duana have placed in safe keeping with orders that they are to be given to none but such as are impowered by the Commonwealth of England) may be delivered to Richard Casson, sent by Elizabeth Bagnell, administrix of deceased, to receive the same.†

107

(AFTER LETTER CXCIX)

To the Mayor and Commonalty of Colchester[3]

1655, June 28, Whitehall.—Writs being issued out from the Upper Bench for the restoring of the Recorder and one of the Aldermen[4] lately ejected, they are, after the execution of the said writs, to "forbear the redisplacing of the said persons, or making any alteration in the magistracy or Common Council" of the town, until the business be determined by the Council, to whom the petitions of the town are referred.

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[1] Sir Philip Percivall would have demurred to some of these statements, if he had been still living.

[2] Edmund Casson had, in 1646, successfully concluded a Treaty with Algiers.

[3] For the narrative of the civil war which raged in the corporation of Colchester at this time, see Mr. J. H. Round's paper on *Colchester and the Commonwealth* in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1900. Also Gardiner's *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iii. 268 *et seq.*

[4] Arthur Barnardiston and Henry Barrington. The Mayor was Tho. Reynolds.

* *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8. $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 60. Public Record Office, Dublin.

† Thurloe, iii. 500.

Oliver P.*

108

For the Right Hon. the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland

Hampton Court, 16th of July, 1655.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The enclosed petition being presented to us by Col. Jephson, we could do no less than earnestly recommend the same unto you, judging it very reasonable, and a matter of great justice (if what is alleged therein be made appear unto you upon the place), that the orphan Tibbot Roche be restored to the possession of his father's lands and estate, and that some other lands in Ireland (not yet disposed of) be assigned to those officers and soldiers to whose lot the lands of the said orphan are fallen for satisfaction of their arrears. We shall not need to use any further arguments to press you to this our desire, the case itself (as represented) being so just and equitable. We rest,

Your very loving friend,

Oliver P.†

109

The difficulty of obtaining money had made it necessary to reduce the forces, and on the same day on which the following letter was written, a new establishment of the army had been settled by the Council, reducing the strength of a horse regiment to 300 and of a foot regiment to 800, and fixing the number of regiments as 7 of horse and 5 of foot for England; 7 of horse, 4 companies of dragoons and 13 regiments of foot for Scotland. (*S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, I. 76a, p. 107.) The Protector did not confirm the order until July 31, but wrote off to tell Monck of the change without delay. The scheme of the Committee appointed to draw up the new establishment will be found in *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, xcix. 65, and as finally resolved upon, *ibid.* 92.

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* *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, xcviii. 23. (Recited by the Mayor).

† *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.* $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 62. Public Record Office, Dublin.

To General Monck

Whitehall, July 26, 1655.

Having considered the condition of the forces in England, Scotland and Ireland, and the arrears due, owing to the necessity of keeping up a greater number of forces for safety than the revenue will answer, we have, by advice of our Council, so reduced the forces that a constant pay may be kept up, and the arrears provided for in due time. We send particulars of the reducement in Scotland, and refer you to the Council of Scotland, who will speedily be with you, to advise what may further be done for reducement of charge there.

Meantime, you are to cause this new establishment to be put in speedy execution; and to enable you thereto, 30,000*l.* will be sent you for pay of the arrears of those who are to be reduced. We have settled a constant pay for the forces in Scotland in future, and hope you will not again be liable to the straits you have fallen into for want of money; two-thirds of the Excise in Scotland, and the Customs and other revenues, beyond what is requisite to defray the charge of government, are assigned for the arrears of the standing forces, whereby we hope the needs of the soldiers will be in some measure supplied.*

The answer to this letter is amongst the *Clarke MSS.*, and has been printed by Mr. Firth, in his *Scotland and the Protectorate* (p. 296). After assuring his Highness that he is carrying out his wishes as quickly as possible, Monck goes on to remark, in regard to the assignment of the Excise, etc., for the arrears, that he doubts "it will be a long time ere they be paid that way." However they are thankful to his Highness for settling it on some certainty, seeing that he can no other way provide for them. Finally he suggests an allowance for Major-General Morgan, and some other small modifications, which were agreed to.

110

To The Senate of Berne

1655, July 28.—Letter of credence for George Downing, sent out as agent in consequence of the late cruelties in Savoy. *Latin. Signed and Sealed.*†

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* Copy in Letter-book of the Council of State. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, I. 76, pp. 196-7.

† From the MSS. of the Rev. Walter Sneyd of Keble Hall. See Appendix to *Third Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 287. For George (afterwards Sir George) Downing's career, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

111

(After Letter CCI)

To the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex

1655, August 22, Whitehall.—Having previously ordered John Catterall, condemned to death for felony and burglary, to be reprieved and sent to the West Indies, now gives further order that he is to be discharged and allowed to go to sea in one of the State's ships, remaining constantly in service at sea, and performing his duty faithfully.*

Enclosed in a petition of Catterall to the Protector, praying for a second order, as the sheriffs refuse to obey the former one, it not being sealed. It was so difficult at this time to find mariners that it was not an uncommon thing to free prisoners for the purpose, but the commanders disliked the practice, as such seamen were often a disturbing element on board the ships.

112

To the Mayor and Commonalty of Colchester

1655, August 31, Whitehall.—Ordering them to proceed to the election of their magistrates as usual, notwithstanding the petitions depending before Council, and to present the names of those elected to be approved before they are sworn. †

113

(Before Letter CCVII)

This letter is given here as a specimen of the large number of demands for redress which were made by the Protector on behalf of his people, molested and plundered by the "Turks" of the Ottoman Empire. It is undated, but in a letter written in July 1656, Bendish acknowledges the Protector's of November 6, in obedience to which he has sought an audience of the Vizier and delivered to him his Highness' letter to the Grand Seigneur respecting the ship *George*. (Thurloe, v. 190.)

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* Copy. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, c. 161 (1).

† Copy. *S. P. Interregnum*, I. 76, p. 262. Printed in Thurloe, iii. 753. For Mr. Round's reasons for believing that this order was never sent, see his paper on *Colchester and the Commonwealth*, mentioned p. 467 *n.* above.

To the High and Mighty Emperor, Sultan Mahomet Han, Chief Lord and Commander of the Mussulman Kingdom, Sole and Supreme Monarch of the Eastern Empire

[November 6, 1655.]

As for a long time free trade and intercourse has been exercised by our subjects and people in your royal Porte as elsewhere in your dominions, we for our part are right willing to continue the same, and gratefully accept the favour shown to them by your royal hands. Yet we cannot but be "touched by a feeling of resentment" at the wrongs and injuries inflicted on some of them by the injustice of evil ministers and officers, contrary, we are persuaded, to your privity and knowledge. These therefore are to give you to know that William White, Englishman, commander of the *George*, was met with by the Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli fleet, and desired to serve your Highness against the Venetians, which service he accepted on promise of performance of conditions agreed upon, for pay and freedom of the ship and mariners. Yet all were seized at Rhodes, and the ship fired, whereby damage was done amounting to 50,000 dollars, as we are informed by his petition, and also by a certificate under the hand and seal of Sir Thomas Bendish, our late ambassador at your Porte. Many demands have been made for redress without effect, all which we think good to represent to you, trusting that you will give special orders for satisfaction and reparation.*

114

Col. Goffe had been appointed Major-General for Sussex, Hants and Berks, and was now setting about the work with much zeal, as his numerous letters in Thurloe testify. The Protector however seems to have felt that he must defend his choice to "idle Dick Norton"—perhaps through him to "idle Dick Cromwell" also—neither of whom, we may imagine, would have much sympathy with the man whose resource in all business of difficulty was a prayer-meeting.

To Col. Norton

Whitehall, 19th November, 1655.

Sir,

I thought I should have seen you before your going down, but missing of that, I thought fit to send this short epistle to you. I understand Col. Goffe will be at Winchester to-morrow; I hope you will assist him with your countenance. He is honest, so is his business, whosoever says to the contrary; and if security be judged necessary to be provided for against malignant and papist, a reformation of wickedness be part of the return we owe to God, then my assertion is true. The person employed is a gracious man, if I know one, and deserves your respect. All that I have to say is to tell you that I love you. I rest,

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* Abridged from an old copy. *Stowe MS.* 677, f. 83.

Your loving friend,
Oliver P.*

Col. Norton did meet the Major-General at his inn, at Winchester, "on Wednesday night" (Nov. 21), as he informed Thurloe a few days later; but Goffe apparently could not do very much with him. Then the Colonel went away to Hursley—and got lost on the downs on his way back; and was off to London again, sending the Major-General his good wishes, but seeing no advantage in remaining there himself.[1]

115

(After Letter CCVII)

(1) *For Major Haynes*

1655, December 4, Whitehall.—There having been of late several complaints from the ancient Aldermen and divers other well-affected inhabitants of the town of Colchester that for some time past elections have been made of several persons to the government thereof who are altogether unable of public employment; whereupon he did on the 28th of June last order that there should be a forbearance of election of persons into the Magistracy or Common Council of the said town, until he should otherwise determine: And being informed that Arthur Barnardiston, the Recorder of the said town, is lately deceased, by which vacancy and the not appointing of other officers, the town is under some straits and inconvenience:—

Desires Major Haynes, at his coming to the town, to give directions to the Mayor to proceed to the election of a Recorder and also of a Mayor and other officers for the present year, taking special care that electors and elected be qualified according to the late Proclamation.

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* Copy. Amongst the Marquess of Bath's MSS.

[1] Thurloe, iv. pp. 238, 239.

The names of those elected to be certified to himself, that being approved, they may be sworn accordingly.*

(2) *To the Admiralty Committee*

1655, December 19.—Ordering them to assign trees in Somersham Park for the building of Clare College, Cambridge. †

(3) *To the Major-Generals*

1655[-6], January 29.—Authorising the payment of the militia forces from moneys levied for securing the peace. ‡

116

To General Disbrowe

Jan. 29 1655[-6].

SIR,

It hath been a very great complaint of the course of law, and justice hath been much liable to be perverted, by the way that is generally held by deputy-sheriffs in the choice of juries; the reformation whereof I have been much pressed to endeavour; and in order to it, care hath been taken that so great a trust as that of the high sheriff be deposited in the hands of men of integrity and confidence; yet lest that alone might not be sufficient, through failure in the deputy-sheriffs to prevent the dangers and inconveniences which all men who have recourse to the law lie exposed to in that which may be of nearest concernment to them, and having understood that some of the judges, for a remedy of those evils, have, as occasion hath been offered, caused a review of the books of freeholders, out of which persons have been returned by some of the justices of the peace, of the most unquestioned integrity, I have thought it requisite, that a course like to that be recommended to be practised in other places, and to that purpose have judged it fit to write this to you. If therefore the justices of the peace, especially such of them as are best spirited for the work, [agree] with some of the free holders of clearest integrity and prudence, of honest and blameless conversation, who for their number may be proportioned to the business of the county to which they relate to serve upon juries for the year next ensuing, both betwixt party and party and in cases criminal, and offer the names so agreed upon to the sheriff and under sheriff of the county, I doubt not but they would be found willing to receive kindly such an assistance; I having written to them to require their special care in their choice of juries this year, that an attempt may be once made of a reformation of the evils of this nature so largely complained of; and this I hope will be done as it is already in many counties, by your influence, without either distasting the weaker or giving advantage to the wilful and froward by your appearing in it. And whereas the course hitherunto hath been that as soon as the under-sheriff hath made the return of the panel upon the *venire facias*, that the same hath been delivered to the attorney to make a *distringas* before the trial, by reason whereof the names of the persons to serve on the respective trials are known beforehand, from whence opportunity is given and frequently taken of applications to each one of the jury to pre-engage them on the one side or the other, which seldom fails in any cause whatsoever, to the ensnaring or amusing of the weak, and the tempting the avarice of the more subtle, who lie in wait for their own advantage upon such like opportunities, whereby justice is often perverted, the innocent wronged, and the wrongdoer prevails and escapes:—For preventing the evil consequences herein, I must put this farther trouble upon you, that if it shall appear in any of those counties to which you have relation that application hath been made to any juryman in any case whatsoever (wherein your vigilancy and the vigilance of all your friends is desired) that notice thereof be given to the judge or judges that ride the circuit or sit in the courts wherein such miscarriages shall happen; who shall have particular instructions to peruse [? pursue] the remedy the law hath provided in such cases, and not to suffer any such person to serve on a jury who hath been solicited in any business that lies before him, and hath not revealed the same.

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* Morant's *History of Colchester*, p. 70. See note, p. 467, above.
† Copy. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, I. 113, p. 260.
‡ *Ibid.*, 76, p. 500.

Your loving servant,
Oliver P.

Endorsed: A copy (*sic*) of the Lord Protector's letter to General Disbrowe, and sent by him to Sir John Copplestone, to be communicated to the Justices for the county of Devon.*

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* Signed Original, in the Collection of Sir R. Tangye.

117

The scheme of the Major-Generals had been set afloat, and was being carried out with more or less success in different parts of England. But there was one spot in which the working out of the plan was attended with more than average difficulty. The City of London, always jealous of its ancient rights and liberties, would ill brook any sort of military dictatorship in its midst; and although Skippon—the old leader of their forces—was appointed, with Barkstead (whose long residence at the Tower had made him a familiar figure to the citizens), as his substitute, the office was allowed to remain almost a sinecure. But presently the Protector began to realise that the city was becoming a refuge for those who wished to escape from more vigorous measures elsewhere, and he consequently determined to try his personal influence with the City Fathers to induce them to allow their necks to be put under the same yoke. This speech unfortunately is lost to us, but the following summary of it is given in a news-letter of the time.

Speech to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London

1655-6, March 11, Westminster.—His Highness on Wednesday last [March 5] was near two hours in delivering a speech at Whitehall to the Lord Mayor's Court of Aldermen and Common Council of London; wherein he told them, that since fair means would not indulge, foul should enforce the Royal party to a peaceable deportment; and seeing they were the cause (by their late eruption) of raising the militia troops to preserve the peace of the nation, it was thought but reasonable that their estate should be only charged therewith, that so they might be in the nature of a standing militia, and yet not to warfare at their own charge, being at all times to be drawn forth upon occasion; that the soldiers as well as the officers were so many inhabitants of each association under their respective Major-Generals, and would thereby fitly serve to be so many watchmen or spies to give notice of or apprehend such as were of dissolute lives and conversation, who lived like gentlemen and yet had no visible way for the same, being cheaters and the like, who were more fit to be sent beyond the seas than to remain here. That God Almighty hath given us many blessings and deliverances, and now seemingly brought us into a probability of enjoying peace, which called upon us to make some returns thereof, by endeavouring that after all our expense of blood and treasure, the same might reap some fruits thereof. And this way the Lord hath owned by making more effectual than was expected, and by receiving a good acceptation with those who of late stood at some distance with us, so that the sole end of this way of procedure was the security of the peace of the nation, the suppressing of vice and encouragement of virtue, the very end of magistracy. That there was a remissness in some of the Justices of the Peace, by many of whom company keeping, etc., was countenanced, but now that noblemen, gentlemen and all ranks and qualities must give security for their peaceable and civil deportment, or go to prison. That we had indeed many and good laws, yet that we have lived rather under the name and notion of law than under the thing, so that 'tis resolved to regulate the same (God assisting) oppose who will. That now the Major-Generals had gone through all the counties of England and Wales, and where the Major-Generals were present in action, these loose and vagrant persons did fly from thence to other counties, the Major-Generals' occasions not permitting them to be in action at one time. And for that this city was a place that gave shelter to many such idle, loose persons, who had and have their recourse thereto, the same practice is intended to be set on foot in the city by their Major-General Skippon, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others commissioned with him; and therefore his Highness thought fit to acquaint the Lord Mayor and those gentlemen present with the same, to the end no misunderstanding may be had thereof, for that thereby the good government of the city is intended, and not at all to supersede them, or at least to diminish any of their rights, privileges or liberties; which was all his Highness had to say to them, and so dismissed them.

There is an abridged report of this in the *Public Intelligencer* for March 3-10, 1655-6, p. 385. (E. 492, 13.)

118

(Before Letter CCX)

In 1656, the government decided to send out Lieut-Col. Brayne as governor to Jamaica, with fresh forces gathered mostly in Scotland and Ireland. Brayne did not set sail for Jamaica until October, but preparations were begun in the beginning of the year, and on May 13 it was already settled that Brampton was to be his lieutenant-colonel, as President Laurence wrote that his allowances were decided on. The two following letters must therefore have been written before this date. In July, matters were so forward that money and stores were being put on board ship; but as usual there were many delays. Major Brampton was drowned on the way out, but Brayne did good work in the island—sending home the discontented officers and encouraging planting by the soldiers and the immigrants from Nevis. He died however in the following September.

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* *Clarke MSS.*, xxviii. f. 5. Printed in *Clarke Papers*, iii. 65.

(1) *To Lieut.-Col. Brayne*

[1656, early in].—Authorising him to nominate such officers for the service of the West Indies as by advice taken with General Monck he shall think most fit, recommending Major Brampston to him as his lieutenant-colonel, having had very good assurance of his fidelity, and urging the necessity of expedition in the business. Has written to his son Harry to put the forces going from Ireland into the same readiness, that they may be at Knockfergus [Carrickfergus] about the same time that those in Scotland are at Portpatrick, which he hopes will be within a month at the furthest.

If Brayne could come up for further communication before shipping the forces, it would be well, but as he may not have time to do so, his commission and instructions shall be sent to Portpatrick by some safe hand.*

(2) *To General Monck*

[1656].—Announces his determination to send twelve hundred men from Scotland and Ireland, and five hundred of these from Scotland, to the West Indies. Lieut.-Col. Brayne has been sent down to Scotland, and Monck is desired to give his best help in choosing good men and expediting their departure. They are to be shipped at Port Patrick, and ships will be sent from England to receive them, unless vessels can be provided in Scotland, which would save not only time but charge.†

119

(After Letter CCXII)

On January 24, 1655-6, the commanders in Jamaica, Vice-Admiral Goodson and Major Sedgwick, wrote a long joint letter to the Protector in answer to those sent out by him in the *Marston Moor* (see Letters

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[*] *Rawlinson MS.* A. 56, p. 27. Printed in *The Narrative of General Venables*, edited for the Royal Historical Society by Mr. Firth. Appendix F.

[†] *Ibid.*, 55, f. 126. Printed *ut supra*.

CCIV-CCVI, and they each wrote separately to Thurloe. They had a pitiful tale to tell—Major-General Fortescue dead—Colonel Carter dead—the fleet rather a shadow than a substance, the land force fallen from seven to less than three thousand men. "I must profess," sadly writes Sedgwick to Thurloe, "I am not able to discover or make out to myself what God intends in this business. . . . Did you but see the faces of this poor small army with us, how like skeletons they look, it would move pity, and when I consider the thousands laid in the dust in such a way as God hath visited, my heart mourns. I know this work could not be expected to be carried on without loss of many men's lives; yet if God shall sweep us away as if He would take no delight in us, what may we think?" He fears Thurloe may think him of a despondent spirit, and indeed he is possessed with many searchings of heart, but "never man heard me yet discourage the work, but have, do, and shall to the uttermost I can, encourage and strengthen the hearts of any employed in this affair." To the Protector they did not speak so plainly, but no doubt he saw—and was meant to see—the letters to Thurloe.[1]—After awhile the health of the men improved, but the dejection and discontent continued, and many of the officers, "missing the mountain of pleasure they aimed at," did no work that they could help, and were perpetually clamouring to be allowed to return to England.[2]

It is odd that the following long and important letter was overlooked by Carlyle:—

To the Chief Commanders in Jamaica[3]

17 June, 1656.

GENTLEMEN,

We have received your letters of the 24th of January by the captain of the *Wildman*, with some other papers enclosed therein; whereby you give an account of the state and condition of the forces both at land and sea, and of our other affairs at Jamaica, which is such as doth still administer unto us further cause to be humbled before the Lord, and to search out what His mind may be in this His sad[4] dispensation. And we do observe, that the hand of the Lord hath not been more visible in any part of this rebuke, than in taking away the hearts of those, who do survive amongst you, and in giving them up to so much sloth and sluggishness of spirit, that they care not to take pains, either for their security against the enemy, or for providing food for themselves; choosing rather to die with hunger, or expose themselves to be devoured by the Spaniard, than to labour for their own preservation in any kind, although they are in a place abundantly stored with provisions of all sorts, and very capable also of being fortified and secured against any attempt of the enemy. Nay, some former letters do inform us, that great quantities of the provisions sent from hence have been spoiled and lost, for want of a little care and pains to make convenient places for defending them from the weather, besides what thereof hath been embezzled and otherwise squandered away through negligence. I do acknowledge these things have very great discouragements in them, but yet having fully considered the true state of this business, and after a solemn seeking of the Lord, seriously advised with our Council thereupon, we could not satisfy ourselves to desert this cause, wherein we are engaged against the Spaniard in the West Indies, but have resolved in His fear (we hope) to prosecute the same, according as he shall afford us means and opportunity; and to that end are despatching away unto you a supply of men and provisions. The number of men will be two regiments, consisting of 1,200; and with them, or soon after them, will be sent provisions for 6,000 men for four months. That which we judge most advisable in the first place, in order to the ends aforesaid, is, to secure yourselves in such place or places in Jamaica, as you shall judge most healthful, secure, and otherwise commodious; as also to erect plantations, which may afford food and other provisions necessary for the life of man, whereof we see by your last letters you have had some consideration, and made propositions to that purpose to the officers and soldiers; whereof we hope you will have seen some fruit before this comes to your hands. And we do not only consent to the encouragements you offer by those propositions to such as shall plant, but give you power to allow such further terms, as you shall judge reasonable and just, having therein respect to the profit and good of the state as much as in you lies.

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[1] See Thurloe, iv. 451-458. [2] *Ibid.* 600-603.

[3] "In America" in Thurloe, but indexed correctly.

[4] Printed "said" in Thurloe.

As the situation of the harbour, where you now are, is described in the maps brought to us, it may be made most secure against any attempt the Spaniard can make, which is therefore first to be fortified. I perceive you are making one fort upon the point of land lying upon the entrance into that harbour, which should be made very strong and substantial. Other places there are, as well upon some of the small islands lying about the mouth of the harbour, as upon the main land, which seem very convenient to be fortified; but you, who are upon the place, can better judge what of this nature is to be done; and therefore we leave it to you, desiring that no time may be lost in doing what shall be necessary.

We have also had some consideration of what other harbours there are upon the island lying next to St. Jago, and whether it might not be convenient for some part of the forces to be removed thither, as well for the securing of any such place, as likewise that such a course might tend to the recovery of their health, wherein they questionless have been much prejudiced by lying altogether in one place, and infected by dead bodies unburied, and other stenches. But this also must be left to you; only we judge it very necessary that some commodious place be thought of by you for the 1,200 fresh men intended to be sent from hence, where they may be kept from those already there, to prevent infection and sickness.

Another thing which we observe in your letter, is the great disorder which hath been in hunting and killing of cattle, and in ordering and dressing the flesh when it was taken, every one having been left to do what seemed him good therein; by means whereof more were destroyed than was necessary, a great part of what was killed being left to putrify, and that which was eaten, being fresh and but half boiled or roasted, hath bred sickness and diseases in the army, besides what other excesses and disorders have done; and it seems this inconvenience hath also followed, that the cattle which do remain, are all run into the mountains and woods, that it is very difficult to take any of them.

Therefore your first and special care must be to put the victualling and providing for the men in some settled and orderly course, both as to flesh and also bread, such as the country will afford, that so they may have what is sufficient for the quantity, and good and wholesome for the quality; a thing, as we judge here, to be done without any great difficulty, you being in a country which without question abounds with all necessary provisions. And if this be not taken care of in time, it will not be possible for you to have any comfortable being there, or for us to carry on our design. And we hope that our tenderness and respect, which we have had to the army there, will not make them remiss and negligent in what is their duty for their own safety and preservation. We know you will do what belongs to you, and trust that the soldiers will again (through the goodness of God) recover their spirits, and readily comply with you in these necessary things, and what else shall be for their own good and our service; for besides the great charge we are at in sending provisions from hence, there is great uncertainty in respect of the wind and weather, which may so fall out that it may not be possible for us to send unto you timely supplies. And therefore we desire you that all which is possible may be done to improve the natural advantages of the country for food and provisions, that it may be rather a magazine of victuals for such men as may be sent thither for further work, than be in want for the support of its own inhabitants.

As concerning the fleet, you know what a vast charge we are at for the maintaining so great a fleet there; especially seeing there hath not been an opportunity of service such as was expected. That they have been most useful in hitherto, hath been in defending the army, and deterring the enemy from making any assault upon them; but when they shall have in some measure fortified themselves we hope such of them, as are yet useful, may intend other service at sea in those parts; and it is referred unto you to consider whether some of them, who are most sluggish and defective, may not be sent home, concerning which further of our resolutions shall be communicated to you. The fleet, which the Spaniard sent from hence in March, consisted of about 10 or 11 men of war, and 17 or 18 merchant men; and our best information is, that it is but his ordinary fleet sent for the management of his trade; but not knowing but that it may be made use of for the transporting and landing men upon you, we thought fit to signify thus much to you, that you may provide for your own safety in all events, as well for defending yourselves at home, as for taking all opportunities to attempt upon this fleet, or any other, as upon intelligence you shall find most advisable. As we had writ thus far, we received yours of the 13th[1] of March by the *Grantham*, whereby we see that the Lord hath been pleased to smile upon you in some measure, in respect of the health of the soldiers; and we desire to acknowledge the goodness of God to us and you therein, and hope it is an earnest of further mercy. We perceive you are already encouraged thereby to enterprise somewhat upon the enemy, and to put the soldiers into a posture of action. In the meantime we are very sorry to see the unworthy carriage of some of the officers who, instead of encouraging their soldiers in the undertaking of any worthy or honourable action, are upon all occasions ready to provoke them to discontent; and, though with dishonour to the cause of God in their hands, and disservice of the nation, to necessitate you to quit your possession of that island. We desire your special care in applying all fit remedies to that spirit, as well by giving all due and fit encouragement to those whom you shall find capable thereof, as also by discountenancing and punishing those who shall persist in these unworthy practices. And the better to settle the minds both of officers and soldiers to intend the work of that place, we judge it necessary that something may be published by the Commander-in-Chief,[1] that no licence or liberty of leaving the army shall upon any terms be granted. And upon this occasion we have thought it fit to write a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, and the rest of the officers, which comes herewith.

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[1] Thurloe, iv. 600. A much more cheerful letter. But it is dated the 12th.

We are very sensible of the timely notice you have given us of this spirit, and doubt not of your care in the suppressing of it, as also of your faithful and prudent management of the trust committed to you, through those many difficulties which it hath pleased the only wise God to exercise you with. We do assure you that we shall always retain a due sense thereof.*

When the Protector wrote this letter Sedgwick was no longer living. He had died on May 24,[2] stricken down, as D'Oyley wrote, by receiving his commission as Commander-in-Chief in place of Fortescue, for he declared that he was undone, "that much was expected, but little probability to have much done; so fell sick and in a few days died." D'Oyley was left, as he expresses it, "commander-in-chief, commissioner, judge-advocate and treasurer," with all the unruly officers upon his hands, who, unless he might have his Highness' commission as Commander-in-Chief, it was impossible for him to control.[3] Admiral Goodson, the only one of the original commissioners now remaining, sent reports home whenever there was an opportunity, and on Oct. 18 acknowledged and shortly answered the Protector's letter given above.[4]

120

To the Justice that sat on Daniel Wise's trial

1656, August 1, Westminster.—Desiring him "as this matter may prove dangerous in the consequence, as it respects the service" to take a strict examination and to reprieve Wise until his (the Protector's) further pleasure.

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[1] Sedgwick.
[2] Thurloe, v. 152.
[3] *Ibid.* 138.
[4] *Ibid.* 500.

* Copy. Thurloe, v. 129.

Enclosed in a petition from Daniel Wise, exciseman, stating that he had killed one John Hugh without intent and in self-defence, when assaulted in the execution of his duty.*

121

(After Speech V)

To the Commissioners for Approving Public Preachers[1]

1656, October 6, Whitehall.—Stating that he has presented Richard Stephens to the rectory of Stanton Barnard, in the county of Wilts. *Signed and sealed.*†

122

To Capt. Sam. Rose, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Isle of Man

1656, Oct. 16.—Desiring that James Challoner, appointed as deputy by Lord Fairfax, "Lord of Man and the Isles belonging thereto," in all but military cases, may not be interrupted but rather countenanced in the exercise of his civil authority.‡

123

(Before Letter CCXV)

The second Protectorate Parliament had been sitting rather more than two months—Oliver having opened it on September 17 (see Speech V)—when the Serjeant one day appeared in the House, and announced that the Lord Protector would speak with them in the Painted Chamber. Thither they repaired and found His Highness surrounded by his Council and Chief Officers and Judges. A chair was set for the Speaker, and a form at the Table for the Clerk. Then the Speaker made report to the Protector of the business done, and the Clerk read out the names of the Bills passed in the House, to each of which severally his Highness gave his assent.[2] After which he made the following short speech:—

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* *S. P. Dom. Interregnum;* cxxix. no. 99, ii.

† From the MSS. of Rev. W. Sneyd. Calendared in the Appendix to the *Third Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 287.

‡ Copy. *S. P. Interregnum* I., 77, p. 439.

[1] Popularly known as the Triers. See Speech V (vol. ii. 539.) Also vol. ii. p. 234.

[2] See *Commons Journals*, vii. 460.

His Highness the Lord Protector's Speech in the Painted Chamber to the Parliament assembled, the 27th of November, 1656

MR. SPEAKER,—I had some doubt in myself whether I should have spoken or no at this time, but from something you delivered I think myself concerned to speak a little. Mr. Speaker, this is the first time we have met together, and it is with a great joy of heart to me to meet you here I do now receive a return from God in some measure of my prayers for you, and though you have sat but a little time, that you have made many good laws, the effect whereof the people of this Commonwealth will with comfort find hereafter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, you might have spared the excuse you made concerning your time, and as you have so well proceeded hitherto, I doubt not but you will make a good progress, and I shall be always ready to assist you and join with you in anything for the being and well-being of these nations, and continue my prayers for you.*

Reported to the House by the Speaker the same day.

124

(AFTER LETTER CCXVII)

ON December 4, 1656, it was resolved in Council that a letter should be written to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, recommending Col. Simon Rugely for some employment there, which no doubt was done. He was now on the point of proceeding thither, and carried with him this letter from the Protector to his son. The pass for Col. Simon Rugely, Col. John Rugely and four servants was signed on February 19. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* I., 77, p. 554 and 114, p. 64.

[*For my son, Harry Cromwell, in Ireland*]

Whitehall, Feb. 10th, 1656-7.

SON HARRY,

Colonel Symon Rugely, the bearer hereof, having been very active in the cause of this Commonwealth, to the near ruin of his estates as we are informed, and being not so happy as to get the same repaired by satisfaction of a very considerable debt owing him by the State for his personal services and disbursements, though the same hath been much endeavoured by him, and something determined in order thereunto by us and our Council; we do therefore recommend him to your knowledge and kindness (as a very deserving gentleman), for some employment in Ireland, which his former services and education (as we are also informed) do well qualify him for, whether in a military or civil way; and if it shall not be speedily in your power so to dispose of him, yet to procure him a lease of some convenient lands in Ireland, whereon he may be encouraged to sit down with his family, his condition not admitting of his long attendance without being put into a way of action. On which latter if you shall at present resolve, yet let it be no prejudice to him as to the other proposal for an employment, so soon as a vacancy shall give you the advantage. I pray be specially careful of him as to one to whom a very good respect is borne by

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* *Clarke Papers*, iii. 83.

Your affectionate father,
OLIVER P.*

125

AT the beginning of 1657 the dislike to the rule of the Major-Generals found expression in Parliament, where, in January, a great struggle was going on over the new Decimation Bill. "The Bill of Decimation yet sticks," Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell on Jan. 20. "What the issue will be, I know not. That which is pretended for the reason of the opposition to this bill is the fear that it will establish the Major-Generals, which they seem to disrelish very much."[1]

Meanwhile, danger from abroad was looming afresh. On January 3-13 a correspondent wrote to Williamson from Paris: "I hear from Flanders that the King of Spain having granted free quarter to all that will assist the King of England, there is a great concourse to him of English, Scotch and Irish, who are well paid, and several regiments are formed. Great assistance is promised by the House of Austria and the German Princes, but our intelligences say they will not be used till the King is ready to pass over into England."[2] It seems probable that one of Cromwell's agents abroad had got hold of this letter, as it is amongst the English State Papers. At any rate the letter from Lockhart, dated Feb. 1-11, at Paris had been received, sending intelligence that Ormond's letters to the Queen (Henrietta Maria) declared that the King would land in England "once in March, with a body of 6,000 foot and horse, with cannons and arms for 10,000 more."[3]

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* Copy in order book. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* I., 77, p. 963.

[1] Thurloe, vi. 7. See also *ibid.* pp. 20, 37, 38.

[2] *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, cliii. 9.

[3] Thurloe, vi. 33.

To the Officers of the Militia

Whitehall, Feb. 19th, 1656-7.

Whereas we have received intelligence that there is a design by the Cavalier and Popish party very shortly to make a new insurrection in several places of this Commonwealth, and also that the late King's son, in conjunction with the Spaniard, intends to invade this Commonwealth with an army from Flanders where he now is, We have thought it necessary for the safety of the nation to put the forces into a present posture to prevent the aforesaid intentions, or at least through the Goodness of God, to repel them.

Wherefore these are to authorise and require you upon the receipt thereof, to give notice unto all the officers and soldiers of your troop to provide themselves able and sufficient horses and arms for service, and to put themselves into such a condition that upon the first notice or appearing danger, they may be ready to come to such rendezvous as shall be appointed; and that you be very vigilant and careful lest you be surprised. And in case you find any of the said party to ride armed, have frequent meetings, or in their carriage and deportment give just cause of suspicion, you are authorised and required to seize upon and apprehend all such persons. And in case of any insurrection or invasion, you shall do your best to suppress them; and you shall receive further directions therein from time to time from your Major-General with whom we have spoken more at large, and to whom we refer you.

And in case you find any persons of that party keeping more horses than usually they have done for their ordinary occasions, you are to seize their horses and arms to be kept for the use of the State. And you are to assure your troop for their better encouragement, that fitting care will be taken for their pay, according to the establishment.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

126

To the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Soldiers in Ely House

1656-7, February 23, Whitehall.—Requiring them to admit Fras. Barksdale, M.D., as successor to Dr. John French, to be physician to the sick and maimed soldiers in Ely House and the Savoy.†

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* *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, cliii. no. 125. † *Ibid.* cc. no. 42 (1).

This letter of the Protector's (or rather copy of the original) was enclosed by Dr. Barksdale in a petition to Protector Richard, at the beginning of 1659, in which he complains that his salary, which used to be 200*l.*, is now reduced to 100*l.* ; "too slender a maintenance for one that has spent twenty-four years in the study of physic in the universities, and has the charge of most of the sick and maimed soldiers belonging to your armies." [1]

127

(Before Speech VII)

Speech to the Army Officers, Feb. 27, 1656-7

In the MS. volume, *Add. MS.* 6125, so often mentioned above, is a copy of part of a letter dated March 7, 1656-7, narrating what had taken place "yesterday sennight" (*i.e.*, February 27) between the Protector and a hundred officers of the army, touching kingship. Their address prayed him that he "would not hearken to the title (king) because it was not pleasing to his army and was matter of scandal to the people of God [and] of great rejoicing to the enemy; that it was hazardous to his own person and of great danger to the three nations, such an assumption making way for Charles Stuart to come in again. His Highness returned answer presently to this effect:—"

"That the first man that told him of it was he, the mouth of the officers then present (meaning Col. Mills); that for his part, he had never been at any cabal about the same (hinting by that the frequent cabals that were against kingship by certain officers). He said the time was when they boggled not at the word (king) for the Instrument by which the Government now stands was presented to his Highness with the title (king) in it, as some then present could witness (pointing at a principal officer, then in his eye), and he refused to accept of the title. But how it comes to pass that they now startle at that title, they best know. That for his part, he loved not (*sic*) the title, a feather in a hat, as little as they did. That they had made him their drudge upon all occasions; to dissolve the Long Parliament, who had contracted evil enough by long sitting; to call a Parliament or convention of their naming, who met; and what did they? Fly at liberty and property, insomuch as if one man had twelve cows, they held another that wanted cows ought to take a share with his neighbour. Who could have said any thing was their own, if they had gone on? After their dissolution how was I pressed by you (said he) for the rooting out of the ministry; nay, rather than fail, to starve them out. A Parliament was afterwards called. They sat five months; it is true we hardly heard of them in all that time. They took the Instrument into debate and they must needs be dissolved, and yet stood not the Instrument in need of mending. Was not the case hard with me, to be put upon to swear to that which was so hard to be kept? Some time after that you thought it was necessary to have Major-Generals, and the first rise to that motion then was the late general insurrections and was justifiable; and you Major-Generals did your parts well. You might have gone on. Who bid you go to the House with a bill and there receive a foil?

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[1] *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, cc. no. 42.

After you had exercised this power awhile, impatient were you till a Parliament was called. I gave my vote against it, but you [were] confident by your own strength and interest, to get men chosen to your heart's desire. How you have failed therein, and how much the country hath been disobliged, is well known. That it is time to come to a settlement and lay aside arbitrary proceedings, so unacceptable to the nation. And by the proceedings of this Parliament, you see they stand in need of a check or balancing power (meaning the House of Lords or a House so constituted) for the Case of James Naylor might happen to be your own case. By their judicial power, they fall upon life and member, and doth the Instrument in being enable me to control it?" *

The writer of the letter goes on to say that three of the Major-Generals "are come about for a second House and a successor," and that the matter of the name being postponed to the last of all, the House has since gone on with much unity.

128

Amongst those who petitioned the Protector to be exempted from transplantation to Connaught was a grandson of the poet, Edmund Spenser. In 1580 Spenser went to Ireland as secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, and remained there until within a month of his death in Jan., 1598-9. He hated the Irish, regarding them as a nation of savages, and when the lands of the Desmond were declared to be forfeit in 1586, Spenser obtained a grant of 3,000 acres, including the castle of Kilcolman. In the autumn of 1598, after Tyrone's defeat of the

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* *Add. MS.* 6125, p. 285. There is a short notice of this speech in *Clarke Papers*, iii. 92. The "foil" was the opposition to the Bill for continuing the Decimation Tax, thrown out on Jan. 29.

English on the Blackwater, the Irish in Munster broke out into rebellion, Kilcolman Castle was burnt, Spenser with his wife and children had to fly to Cork, and Ben Jonson says that one of his little ones perished in the flames. He died during an official visit to England shortly afterwards and his eldest son Sylvanus succeeded to the property in Desmond's country. The son married a Roman Catholic Irish lady, who trained her children in her own faith, and thus it came about that this grandson of a Protestant Englishman was in danger of transplantation as an Irish Papist. In spite of Cromwell's pleading on his behalf, William Spenser was transplanted, for in the list of "Transplanted Irish," his name occurs as having been adjudged 1011 acres in Connaught on July 26, 1657 (*Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report on the Ormonde MSS.*, series I., vol. ii., p. 175). Grosart says that "the letter was effectual. He had the estate of Kilcolman restored to him, but as far as can be made out not until after the Restoration." Cromwell's letter would not be very "effectual" then! In the end, Spenser seems to have secured both estates. See Grosart's *Works of Edmund Spenser*, i., Appendix, p. 561.

The Lord Protector to the Commissioners for Affairs in Ireland

Whitehall, 27th March, 1657.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved,

A petition hath been exhibited unto us by William Spenser, setting forth that being but seven years old at the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, he repaired with his mother to the city of Cork, and during the rebellion continued in the English quarters; that he never bore arms, or acted against the Commonwealth of England; that his grandfather, Edmund Spenser, and his father were both Protestants, from whom an estate in lands in the Barony of Fermoy, and county of Cork, descended to him, which during the rebellion yielded nothing towards his relief; that the estate hath been lately given to the soldiers[1] in satisfaction of their arrears, upon account of his professing the Popish religion, which since his coming to years of discretion he hath, as he professes, utterly renounced; that his grandfather was that Edmund Spenser, who by his writings touching the reduction of the Irish to civility brought on him the odium of that nation, and for those works and his other good services Queen Elizabeth conferred on him that estate which the said William Spenser now claims. We have also been informed that the gentleman is of a civil conversation, and that the extremity his wants have brought him unto have not prevailed over him to put him upon indiscreet or evil practices for a livelihood. And if upon enquiry you shall find his case to be such, we judge it just and reasonable, and do therefore desire and authorise you that he be forthwith restored to his estate, and that reprisal lands be given to the soldiers elsewhere. In the doing whereof our satisfaction will be the greater by the continuation of that estate to the issue of his grandfather, for whose eminent deserts and services to the Commonwealth that estate was first given to him.

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[1] To Capt. Peter Courthope and his troop.

We rest, your loving friend,

Oliver P.*

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To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved our Deputy of Ireland and Council there

Whitehall, 30th March, 1657.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved,

The Mayor, Sheriffs and Commonalty of the City of Corke have presented unto Us two petitions wherein they desire that the forfeited houses in Corke and the forfeited lands lying within the Liberties of that City may be set unto them for such term and under such rents and Conditions as by a Commission and Instructions from us and our Council here you are impowered to set the forfeited houses and lands in Ireland; and that the Cathedral Church of Finbarryes with the Liberties thereof, situate within the Suburbs of the said City, as also the several Islands within the Harbour to that City belonging, may be under their jurisdiction, And that St. Stephen's Hospital within the Suburbs of that City with the lands thereto belonging may be at their dispose and Government for the maintenance and education of the children of decayed Citizens and orphans. We have also received a petition from the Sovereign and Burgesses of Kinsale, desiring the Tenancy of the forfeited houses in that Town, and six thousand Acres of the next adjoining forfeited lands, that such houses and lands may by them be so disposed of, as may best suit with the accommodation of the Inhabitants therein concerned. We are very sensible of the Petitioners' eminent and faithful service to this Commonwealth in the rescue and recovery of the Towns of Corke and Kinsale from the power of the Enemy and the surrender of them and the Country thereabouts unto Us at such a time when our Army stood in need of that relief and refreshment, which could not be seasonably had elsewhere. We also very willingly remember, that in our concessions to them upon the rendition of those Towns, We gave them a promise, not only to do them right in all things to the uttermost of our power, but also to perform any such good office for them as might be a reward and memorial of their faithfulness and public affection showed by them in that action, wherein they could not have engaged without the manifest hazard of their lives. We are likewise inclinable to believe that our accommodating them with what they petition for, may not be inconsistent with but rather a promoting of the public good. We therefore refer their petitions to your especial care and Consideration, hereby impowering you to do therein as you upon examination and enquiry into the nature and merit of their desires shall judge meet and just, and that therein you will allow them all that dispatch and favour which their business can possibly require or admit of.

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* *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 118. Public Record Office, Dublin. Printed in Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland*, p. 44.

Your loving friend,
Oliver P.*

This letter is alluded to in an order of the Lord-Deputy and Council, printed in the *Council Book of Kinsale*, p. 55.

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(With Speech XIII)

(1) *Paper of Objections, delivered April* 21, 1657

When the Protector made his speech on April 20, he mentioned a paper which he had brought with him (see p. 83 above). In his next day's speech, he alluded to it repeatedly, as also to another, and afterwards handed both in to the Committee.

These two papers, in Thurloe's writing but with notes in Cromwell's own hand, and endorsed as presented to the Committee on April 21, are preserved amongst the *Portland MSS.* at Welbeck. The first consists of notes upon such articles of the *Petition and Advice* as the Protector wished to touch on in his speech. This is the paper which the editor of the *Old Parliamentary History* laments over as "altogether lost." It runs as follows:—

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* *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 122. Public Record Office, Dublin.

Art. 4, 2d paragraph.—Whether it be not necessary to exclude all those Scotch men who invaded England under Duke Hamilton, except they have since borne arms, &c., as also whether it be not fit to explain what shall be accounted a giving testimony of their good affection.[1]

3rd paragraph of the same Article.—Whereas it is said that the Protestants in Ireland be made uncapable (*sic*)[2] to elect or being elected, &c., who before the 1st of March, 1649, have borne arms for the Parliament, &c., or otherwise given testimony of their good affection, and continued faithful to the Parliament; whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly exprest, it seeming to capacitate all those who have revolted from the Parliament if they have borne arms for the state before 1st of March, 1649.[3]

5th paragraph of the same Article.—By this paragraph, *public preachers are made uncapable*[4] to be elected; whether that be not a very uncertain expression, and whether it be not better to express it thus: *such who have public maintenance* for *preaching*, or have *pastoral charge.*

In the same paragraph.—Whether it will not be more convenient to leave out that point which concerns the nominating the Commissioners to try the members which are chosen to serve in Parliament, and instead thereof, *a fine imposed upon those* who shall sit in Parliament contrary to the qualifications, and *imprisonment* for a certain time!

[5th Article.—As to[5]] that Article which concerns the nomination of the other House, it seems to be doubtful who shall nominate them after this turn, which ought to be cleared.[6]

7th Article.—In that Article which concerns the Revenue, it will be necessary that the means of raising the 1,300,000*l.* per annum *be made certain*, and *also* that the temporary supplies, without which the peace and safety of the nation cannot be preserved, *be made certain*, both as to the sums as also the *time* for which those supplied shall be continued. As also that the money directed to be for supply of the sea and land forces be issued by *the advice of the Council;* that the

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[1] Margin; in Cromwell's hand, "living peaceably not sufficient."

[2] *Monarchy Asserted* gives the same words; (*cf.* p. 105 *and note*, above). It probably should read "be not made uncapable."

[3] Margin; by Cromwell, "if they have since borne arms!"

[4] The words in italics are underlined in the original.

[5] The beginning of this sentence is torn away.

[6] Margin; by Cromwell, "the chief to nominate."

Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury be obliged to *give an account of the disbursement of all that money* to every Parliament.

9th Article.—The officers of State and Judges in that Article mentioned are to be chosen by the approbation of Parliament. Whether it is not intended that it should be by the *consent by [? of] the Council in the intervals of Parliament,* to be *afterwards approved* in Parliament.

13th Article.—Whether those who are disabled by that Article to bear any office of public trust should not be put under *a forfeiture or penalty, in case they should accept thereof contrary to that Article.*

That something may be effectually done in point of reformation of *manners,* as also for the *effectual execution of the good laws already made,* for the *punishing of vice* as also for *the regulating of the laws,* according to what is expressed in the close of this Advice.

That the public revenue be not aliened but by consent of Parliament.

16th Article.—Whereas the Acts and Ordinances not contrary to this Advice are to remain in force in such manner as if this Advice had not been given, whether this will be sufficient to prevent the Inconveniences which may [arise] upon this change of government. And therefore whether it be not necessary; That all *Acts and Ordinances made since* 1642 *by those who have exercised the legislature be revised,* to the end such as are useful may be *continued* and such as are *unnecessary* may be *repealed,* and that until such *review* and *resolution* taken thereupon, *All such Acts and Ordinances be continued and remain in force to all intents and purposes.**

(2) *Paper on the Revenue*

The second paper given in by the Protector sheds most useful light upon his statement concerning the revenue.

"The present charge of the Forces, both by sea and land including the Government, will be . . . 2,426,989 00 0.

The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland and Ireland is about 1,900,000 00 0. By the Petition and Advice of the Parliament, they engage to settle but 1,300,000*l.* per annum, which doth diminish the Revenue which may be now raised by the present Government, 600,000*l.* per annum.[1] And the whole sum which may now be raised comes short of the present charge 542,689*l.* per annum. And although an end should be put to the Spanish war, yet there will be a necessity for the preservation of the peace of the three nations to keep up the present established Army at land in England, Scotland and Ireland; and also a considerable Fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds and bring the nation to some better consistency. So that considering the pay of the Army, coming to upwards of 1,100,000*l.*, allowing for the Fleet 500,000*l.* per annum,[1] and accounting 300,000*l.* for the Government, it will be necessary that during the time of [*blank*] years there should be raised over and above the 1,300,000*l.* the sum of 600,000*l.* per annum more; and also that the Parliament will likewise declare what further sum they will raise for the carrying on of the Spanish war, and for what time." At the end is written by Oliver himself, in a very tremulous hand, "The debts the Parliament hath already undertaken." *

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* *Portland MSS.* N. xvi. 141. Calendared, but not printed, in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Portland MSS.*, vol. i. p. 682.

[1] *i.e.*, the revenue is 1,900,000*l.* and they propose to give but 1,300,000*l.*

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(AFTER LETTER CCXVIII)

WHEN, in June, 1657, the Parliament was busy about the oath to be taken by the Lord Protector at his new and solemn inauguration, it also agreed upon an oath of fidelity to be taken by the Council, the members of Parliament, and other official persons.[2] Lambert opposed this violently; said that unscrupulous people would take it while honest ones could not[3] (an objection which Whitelocke reminded him would apply to all oaths whatsoever), and when it was passed, absolutely refused to take it. This brought to a climax the irritation between himself and the Protector which had long existed, and Lambert had to resign.

To Major General Lambert

July 13, Monday, 1657.

SIR,

I have sent this bearer, Mr. William Jessop, to you, for your commission as Major-General, as also your other commissions;

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[1] This item has dropped out of the report of the Speech (see p. 122 above), thereby hopelessly upsetting the calculation.

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 572.

[3] Burton, ii. 276, 295.

* Original amongst the *Portland MSS.* N. xvi. 142. Calendared in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the Portland MSS.*, vol. i. p. 682, and printed in Zachary Grey's *Examination of the Third Volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans*, Appendix, No. 6.

to whom I desire you to deliver them, enclosed and sealed up in a paper.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

"This day sennight," says a newsletter, "his Highness had much private discourse with the Lord Lambert, and Thursday last, Mr. Jessop, one of the Clerks of the Council, was sent to the Lord Lambert's house at Wimbledon, for his Lordship's commission, which was delivered to him, and afterwards to his Highness."[1]

But although his commissions were recalled, the Protector had no desire to deal harshly with him. A Committee of Parliament was ordered to consider his services, and to draft an act for "settling a considerable sum on him," and meanwhile Oliver continued his pay.[2]

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(BEFORE LETTER CCXIX)

To Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Our Deputy and Council of Ireland

Whitehall, the 7th August, 1657.

We are informed by the Lord Broghill, That towards the conclusion of the Rebellion in Ireland, Capitulation was made with some Irish Rebels for their transportation into Spain, but that the Commissioners of Parliament, then there in chief authority, not esteeming it advisable to transport men openly upon the public account, the said capitulation had like to have remained ineffectual, and the nation pestered with those Rebels, which several Officers of the Army then at Dublin being sensible of, subscribed a paper to the said Commissioners, wherein they offered [to do it], if eleven hundred pounds were advanced unto them to victual the Irish so to be transported, and that in case capitulations which they could make (and afterwards did make with one Col. Mayo employed by the King of Spain) for Irish Levies were not performed in Spain, that then the said Commissioners would pay the freight and other charges of those Vessels which should transport the said Irish, and after a convenient time should be satisfied for such disbursements out of the respective Arrears of the said subscribing Officers proportionally to their subscriptions; Provided always that upon the King of Spain's failure the said Officers should have letters of mark, to repair themselves of such breach of Capitulations; That in pursuance of this Overture the said Commissioners did advance eleven hundred pounds towards the transportation of the said Irish, who accordingly were transported into Spain; and Capitulations being unperformed there (the Spaniards only promising to pay what was due upon the arrival of their next plate fleet), the Ships returned and the Commissioners of the Parliament paid above a thousand pounds towards the discharge of their freight, and suspended the payment of the rest in expectation that the Capitulation would be soon after performed, there being then an Agent to follow the business in Spain who gave every day hopes thereof, but at length the Wars breaking out between Us and the Spaniard all expectation from thence ceased, and ever since the Owners of the Vessels which transported the Irish have remained without any satisfaction, and Capt. Joseph Deane, who made the contract with them in behalf of the said Officers, in daily hazard of losing his liberty and having his estate ruined by them. We are further informed that because no mutual contract was subscribed between the said Commissioners of Parliament and the said Officers, that you have hitherto scrupled to pay the residue of that debt, which is about a thousand pound, to which the Lord Broghill tells me that such a formal agreement was declined lest it might have manifested what was intended to be concealed, and that the sums already paid were upon no other contract but this, which tied the Commissioners to a performance of the whole, as well as that part. He further says that it is certain so much money was paid, and if there can be produced the capitulation by which the same was paid, these allegations of his will be found therein, and if no capitulation can be produced, then so much money, unless for this Agreement, has been paid upon no grounds, which (doubtless) the Commissioners of Parliament would never have done. The matter of fact being thus, which we would have you examine if you are not fully satisfied of it, We esteem it reasonable and just that the residue of the money due to the said Owners be paid unto them with fitting consideration of their damages in forbearance, and afterwards that the said Subscribing Officers give security to pay in convenient time proportionably out of their arrears what shall be due unto the public.

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* From the MSS. of Sir W. H. B. Ffolkes, Bart. Calendared in the *Third Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 247.

[1] *Clarke Papers*, iii. 113.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 119.

Your very loving friend,
OLIVER P.*

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* *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 155. Public Record Office, Dublin.

133

(With Letter CCXIX)

(1) *To the Grand Seigneur*

1657, August 11.—"Our Palace of Westminster. Oliver, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereto belonging, to the High and Mighty Emperor, Sultan Mahomet Han, Chief Lord and Commander of the Mussulman Empire, Sole and supreme Monarch of the Eastern Empire, greeting." Would be very unwilling that the amity and traffic between "both nations" should be disturbed, desiring nothing more than a continuance and increase of that friendship which hath been established, yet this has been too frequently interrupted by pirates who find retreat and succour in his Majesty's dominions. An instance whereof (to omit many others) appears in the late surprisal of an English ship called the *Resolution*, bound for Scanderoon, which has been assaulted by ships of Tripoli (part of his Majesty's fleet) and carried into Rhodes, where ship, goods, and all on board of her have been seized. Cannot pass over so barbarous and dishonourable an act, and so manifest a breach of the peace, and presumes so much of his Majesty's wisdom and justice that he will order complete restitution, and also, for his own honour, take course for suppressing and punishment of pirates, and a general redress of all former injuries. Has given orders to his Ambassador at the Porte to inform his Majesty more particularly, and desires to know his resolution therein, in order to take course for the protection of his people.*

(2) *To the High and Excellent Lord, the Vizier Azem*

[1657, August 11].—On the same subject. Remonstrates against this act of violence and injustice, and demands punishment of the offenders, restitution of the ship and goods and release of the master, mariners and passengers; otherwise the Sultan must expect ruin and desolation of all trade, besides confusion and danger to his own state.

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* The original, signed by Oliver "in a tremulous hand," is amongst Mr. G. H. Finch's MSS. at Burley on the Hill, and would therefore appear not to have been delivered to the Sultan. See *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix 1, p. 640. This letter and the next are printed from copies in *Ellis*, 2nd series, part iii., 377, 381.

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(After Letter CCXXIV)

On September 9, 1657, Henry Cromwell wrote to Thurloe concerning the cashiering of one Lieut.-Col. Brayfield—"A busy and turbulent person . . . a promoter of seditious papers" and worst of all, a supporter of Colonel Hewson's.[1] He harks back to his old grievance, his father's letter to Hewson, and declares that Brayfield "compares in his frequent and familiar discourses the present times to those of David and Absalom; insinuates that His Highness liked well of the letter," and consequently that he (Henry), like Absalom, is trying to steal away the hearts of the people. This having been proved in a court of well-reputed and indifferent persons, Brayfield has been cashiered. About October 6, Thurloe wrote defending him, assuring the Major-General that Brayfield denies all words against him and is "a sober Independent and no ways factious," and praying his Lordship to pardon him. Unfortunately the letter of Henry Cromwell to which the Protector's is an answer, does not appear to have been preserved.

For the Lord Henry Cromwell at Dublin: These

October the 13th, 1657.

Harry Cromwell,

I have seriously thought of your letter, and thank you for your care expressed in the business which I imparted to you under the caution of secrecy, of which I suppose you will hear more hereafter.

I am sorry you wrote me some sad apprehensions of some enemies of yours to be about me; truly none dare appear so, and I am persuaded if you think your B. Fleetwood to be so, you are mistaken. It were dangerous for you to think so and he not be so, and safer for you to be mistaken, for indeed none (I hope) can wrong you with me, and though all things answer not, be you humble, and patient, place value where it truly lies, viz., in the favour of God, in knowing Him, or rather in being known of Him. If your heart be truly here, you cannot miscarry.

I am sorry you gave me not one word about Lieutenant-Colonel Brafeild's business. I did see my Lord Broghill's account thereof. It was as fair as I believe the business would bear, but yet, though he solicited a trial, he should not have had it. I would not have put him upon men,[2] or I would have after restored him. I would not believe 2 carnal men against one such protesting innocency, it[1] being in a case concerning myself, where it is in my power to pardon without injustice.

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[1] He was in Hewson's regiment. See p. 396 above.

[2] over "those" *erased.*

I am afraid you have erred in this. If you can, I pray you give a remedy for my sake,[2] and let the poor man be handsomely restored.

My love to your wife and children. I rest,

Your loving Father,

OLIVER P.*

Endorsed: His Highness' Misapprehensions. Lt.-Col. Brayfield.

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(AFTER LETTER CCXXIV)

IN 1657 the Sieur de Belliévre, former Ambassador to England, died. He was president of the Parliament of Paris, and Cromwell took the daring step of writing to urge the appointment of Bordeaux as his successor. Mazarin must have been as much surprised as Oliver would have been if the Cardinal had suggested a fresh Lord Chief Justice for England, and was probably irritated moreover by the Protector's assumption of equality with "such as formerly governed in these nations."

To his Eminence, Cardinal Mazarin

December 4th, 1657.

MY LORD,

The satisfaction which I have taken in my Lord Ambassador Bourdeaux his management of the affairs of England, for the conserving a good intelligence between the two nations, has obliged me to take the first favourable opportunity to express the esteem I have of him, and having understood that by the death of the Sieur Bellieure, heretofore Ambassador in England, there is a place void in the Parliament of Paris, which the King of France has used to fill with persons of the rank of Monsieur de Bourdeaux, I was willing to believe that your Eminence would not take it ill from me, if I took hold of this occasion to recommend him to your favour, and to desire your Eminence that in bestowing the said place, you have respect to him as one that has exceeding well merited of the Crown of France, and in particular of your Eminence. I should have desired this favour of the King himself, out of a confidence of his willingness thereto, but that I resolved to be indebted herein to your Eminence only, persuading myself that seeing I do recommend a person who is already so many ways obliged to serve your interest, as well the King as your Eminence may think this a fitting way to witness the satisfaction which you have received in the success of his negotiation, and to recompense him for his care and fidelity therein; besides, I have observed that such as have formerly governed in these nations have made the like requests with very good success, none of which have wished better to France or had a more particular affection for your interest than myself; and I assure your Eminence the regard you shall have to my recommendation in the disposal of this place upon this person will be received by me as a great token of your friendship toward me, and lay a great obligation upon

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[1] "minde this" inserted in a different hand and ink.

[2] "minde this allsoe" in the same hand as the other.

* Holograph, very neatly and firmly written, at the British Museum. *Add. MS.* 36,652, f. 1. Printed in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1901.

Your affectionate friend,
OLIVER P.*

Endorsed: M. le Protecteur a son Eminence du 2 (*sic*) Decembre, 1657.

The Protector's letter was not at all well received. On December 19-29, Lockhart wrote to Thurloe: "Upon Thursday last I went to Bois de Vincennes, and delivered to his Eminence his Highness' letter concerning M. de Bordeaux. I found him much surprised with it, and (after long discourse upon this subject) ready to have returned his Highness an answer under his own hand. I besought him to pay so much respect to his Highness' mediation as to defer his last resolution, till I had the honour to entertain him further about it at my next audience. I forbear to mention the particulars that passed in our reasonings for and against the thing . . . [but] I am like to meet with greater difficulties than I could foresee, and that your lordship [*sic*] may remember that I did apprehend some, when you took first notice of his Highness' resolutions that way; though it was my opinion (of which I do not yet repent me) that his Highness had reason to demand that favour."[1] Apparently the Cardinal did not reply to the letter until April 6 (new style) of the following year, when he wrote regretting that he was not able to comply with the desire expressed by the

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* With superscription and seal. Original, holograph, in the Morrison Collection (stated to have been acquired from the Fillon Collection); reproduced in facsimile in the Calendar of Mr. Alfred Morrison's MSS.

[1] Thurloe, vi. 695.

Protector in favour of M. Bordeaux for the presidency, as there were difficulties in the way, which he had explained to Mr. Lockhart.[1]

Meanwhile, it appears from a letter from Lord Fauconberg, that the Cardinal had held out hopes that Bordeaux might have the second place, called "*president du mortier*."[2]

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Probably to Ahmad VI., Dey of Algiers. The title of Basha was very loosely employed.

To Hamet Basha

[1657].—Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England etc., to the lord Hamet Basha wisheth health and peace from God. We received two letters from you, dated both on the third day of the second moon of Rabia, in the year 1066,[3] according to your account. Both those letters contained in them the same matter, to which we now return our answer.

And first, we rejoice, as you do, at the peace which we have made with you, the covenants whereof you recite truly in your letter, and we acknowledge them, and shall cause them to be observed faithfully through all our government. We also return you thanks for the kind reception and refreshment which you have given to our fleet and ships sailing to and fro, or trading in your ports.

Whereas you write that the Flemish, being your enemies, do oft wear English flags and colours in their ships, whereby your ships are deceived and sometimes lost, we will speak thereof to the Flemish or Dutch Ambassador residing with us, that it may no more be so done; and this is all we can perform herein, for the Flemish are not under our authority.

Lastly, whereas you write that many Flemish and French mariners go in English ships and land on your shore, and in particular that Captain Griffith of the ship *Acorn* and Mr. Francis Butcher, merchant, coming into your harbour with some of their mariners that were Flemish, carried away with them a Fleming who was slave to a Masulaga[4]; we will strictly forbid the merchants to take with them to your ports any Flemish or French seamen for the future, and will call Captain Griffith to an account for the Fleming whom he hath brought away, and will cause him to do that which shall be just.

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[1] *Documents inedits sur l'Histoire de France. Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin*, viii. 692.

[2] Thurloe, vi. 757.

[3] The year of the Hegira 1066 began on Oct. 10, 1656 English style. Rabia II. was the fourth month.

[4] Written as one word. *Quaere*, some official person.

Wherein else we can be useful to you, we offer you in like manner on our part, and recommend you to God.*

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(After Speech XVII)

The following letter was sent off to the Speaker after the Protector had made his Speech on January 25, apparently before he left the Banqueting House.

(1) *To the Speaker*

January 25, 1657-8.

Sir,

I should have imparted a paper to you, which indeed I have forgot. I have it not here. It is concerning the state of your moneys. You had lately an account of the public moneys, and we have been as good husbands thereof as we could. We have not increased the debt. But some supplies designed by you for public service, that of the buildings, hath not come in as was expected. The paper shall be ready for you. You shall have it when once you desire it. I desire you to acquaint the House with it.†

On Thursday, January 27, after reporting the Protector's speech of the previous Monday, the Speaker informed the House of the contents of the letter here printed. See *Commons Journals*, vol. vii. p. 589.

(2) *Speech to the Committee of the Commons*

On the 28th, the Commons sent a committee to the Protector to pray for directions as to the printing of his speech; to ask for the paper concerning public moneys which he mentioned in the above letter and to promise to take the matter of his speech into consideration. (*Parl. Hist.* xxi. 196; Burton, ii. 379):—

His Highness answered them that his speech he could not remember, nor had he any copy thereof to be printed. That [he] was sworn to maintain the privilege of Parliament, and for them to come as a committee without a conjunction of a committee of the Other House was in his judgment a great breach of privilege, and therefore [he] could not take cognizance of their message.*

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* Copy. Thurloe, i. 745.

† *Calendar of the Portland MSS.*, vol. i. p. 682.

The notice in *Commons Journals* brings out this last point more emphatically :—

His Highness said, he could not have looked upon the committee as a committee of the House of Commons had he not seen the paper and the persons of the committee. That what he spake in the Banqueting House was delivered to both the Houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons: And that he was exceeding tender of the breach of privilege of either House, whereunto he had sworn, and by the blessing of God would maintain. And that he did not know, nor was satisfied, that it was not against the privilege of either House for him to give an answer to either of the Houses apart. That he spake to the Houses those things that did lie upon his own heart, and that he did acquaint them honestly and plainly how things stood in matters of fact, but of the particulars he doth not remember four lines. That he had considered with some persons about the papers relating to money, and found some particulars short and some over; but he would take them into consideration and set them right, and would give a timely account thereof. He desired his affections might be presented to the House, and that he would be ready to serve them faithfully in the capacity that he is in.†

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(WITH SPEECH XVIII)

Speech No. XVIII., February 4, 1657-8.—The version in the *Pell MSS.*, which differs so much from that used by Carlyle that it is here given at length, is as follows :—

"The last time I met you here [see Speech XVI above] I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the calling of this Parliament and the meeting of it a blessing to ourselves and to these nations. And the Lord is my witness, I desired the carrying on of the affairs of these nations to those ends that I then expressed to you with so much sincerity as satisfies my own conscience, and for which—if I did deal with you in hypocrisy when I told you the bless-ports any Flemish or French seamen for the future, and will call Captain Griffith to an account for the Fleming whom he hath brought away, and will cause him to do that which shall be just.

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* *Clarke MS.* xxx. f. 15.

† *Commons Journals*, vii. 589.

Wherein else we can be useful to you, we offer you in like manner on our part, and recommend you to God.*

137

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January 25, 1657-8.

Sir,

I should have imparted a paper to you, which indeed I have forgot. I have it not here. It is concerning the state of your moneys. You had lately an account of the public moneys, and we have been as good husbands thereof as we could. We have not increased the debt. But some supplies designed by you for public service, that of the buildings, hath not come in as was expected. The paper shall be ready for you. You shall have it when once you desire it. I desire you to acquaint the House with it.†

On Thursday, January 27, after reporting the Protector's speech of the previous Monday, the Speaker informed the House of the contents of the letter here printed. See *Commons Journals*, vol. vii. p. 589.

(2) *Speech to the Committee of the Commons*

On the 28th, the Commons sent a committee to the Protector to pray for directions as to the printing of his speech; to ask for the paper concerning public moneys which he mentioned in the above letter and to promise to take the matter of his speech into consideration. (*Parl. Hist.* xxi. 196; Burton, ii. 379):—

His Highness answered them that his speech he could not remember, nor had he any copy thereof to be printed. That [he] was sworn to maintain the privilege of Parliament, and for them to come as a committee without a conjunction of a committee of the Other House was in his judgment a great breach of privilege, and therefore [he] could not take cognizance of their message.*

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* Copy. Thurloe, i. 745.

† *Calendar of the Portland MSS.*, vol. i. p. 682.

The notice in *Commons Journals* brings out this last point more emphatically :—

His Highness said, he could not have looked upon the committee as a committee of the House of Commons had he not seen the paper and the persons of the committee. That what he spake in the Banqueting House was delivered to both the Houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons: And that he was exceeding tender of the breach of privilege of either House, whereunto he had sworn, and by the blessing of God would maintain. And that he did not know, nor was satisfied, that it was not against the privilege of either House for him to give an answer to either of the Houses apart. That he spake to the Houses those things that did lie upon his own heart, and that he did acquaint them honestly and plainly how things stood in matters of fact, but of the particulars he doth not remember four lines. That he had considered with some persons about the papers relating to money, and found some particulars short and some over; but he would take them into consideration and set them right, and would give a timely account thereof. He desired his affections might be presented to the House, and that he would be ready to serve them faithfully in the capacity that he is in.†

138

(With Speech XVIII)

Speech No. XVIII., February 4, 1657-8.—The version in the *Pell MSS.*, which differs so much from that used by Carlyle that it is here given at length, is as follows :—

"The last time I met you here [see Speech XVI above] I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the calling of this Parliament and the meeting of it a blessing to ourselves and to these nations. And the Lord is my witness, I desired the carrying on of the affairs of these nations to those ends that I then expressed to you with so much sincerity as satisfies my own conscience, and for which—if I did deal with you in hypocrisy when I told you the bless-not? Again, I would not choose to accept of this government unless I knew that there would be a just reciprocation between the government and the governed, whether the governed representative or the whole collective body, those that were the representative of the whole body of the nation, unless they would take an oath to make good what the Parliament petitioned and advised me to. Upon that [the] reciprocation of my part was the taking of an oath. I did take it; they that petitioned and advised me knew that I made everything in this government a condition of my oath, and whosoever took the oath on their own part, took an oath answerable to mine. Did not every man that had a hand in the Petition and Advice and drew me in (I speak not in an ill sense, I would have amended that word) persuaded me to accept of their petition and advice, did not every man know upon what conditions I swore and did not every man that swore with reciprocation know upon what conditions he swore?

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* *Clarke MS.* xxx. f. 15.

† *Commons Journals*, vii. 589.

And what apprehension soever, what place soever or sense soever this may have in your hearts, I tell you mine is different from yours, and I hope (God knows upon what condition I took that oath) I took it upon the condition expressed in the [act of] government. And I can say with truth and uprightness, had that government been settled, that we had been upon a foundation; I tell you what my understanding was of it, that when it was once agreed, we were upon a bottom; I thought myself bound to take the advice of the two Houses in anything, after that foundation was once agreed, in anything that might have been an emendation to it. But there was a supposition, while we stood unsettled in anything, till we knew what we should come at, the consequence whereof must necessarily have been absolute confusion.

If you had once settled the government as it is (not to make hereditary lords nor to make hereditary king or kings) you had had a basis to stand upon: the power of these nations, consisting as this government in the two Houses and myself. Whatever had occurred to your judgment and your consciences had tended upon the same authority, to wit, the legislative power, to have settled anything that might have been for further good. And therefore, not to say what the meaning of your oath was to you (that were a little to go against mine own principle, to enter upon other men's consciences) but I tell you what it was to me and in doing that, I am satisfied enough. God will judge between me and you.

But alas, is this[1] the complaint, that there hath been a misunderstanding in the way that things have been, there cannot be but misunderstanding, through the avoiding to do that that occurs to every man's reason.

If there were an intention of settlement, you would have settled upon this to have altered or allayed. Ye had the free exercise of a legislative power to have offered your judgment and opinion when you had pleased. But this hath not been done, it hath not; but what hath been done? Truly that that I cannot speak to you of but with shame and with grief and sorrow. God is my witness I speak it. It is evident to all the world, to all the town, to all the army, people living in the world, that a new business hath been seeking in the room of this, this actual settlement, settlement by your consent; and in this I do not speak to those gentleman or lords or whatever you will call them; I say not this to them, but I say it to you. You advised me to be where I am in this place, you, you did; for these persons were not in this capacity; but by you I am in this capacity and they are in this capacity, and yet instead of taken for agreed [that] it was a stated business, the nation had time to look round about them. But if you must have and must have we know not what, you not only have disquieted yourselves, but the whole nation is disquieted. And give me leave to tell you what I think, running more in arrear of satisfaction, a likelihood of running into confusion in fifteen or sixteen days, than really they have done from your last rising to this day, which was about the 26th of June; and through these inventions of (really) designing a Commonwealth that some tribune of the people might be the man that might rule all. This hath been the business really. I am sorry to say it, but I think the meanest people that go about the streets take notice of it. This is the business, but is this all? They have engaged or persuaded others to engage to carry that thing on; and hath that man been true to this nation, whosoever he be that hath dared[2] (especially if he hath taken an oath) thus to prevaricate? I tell you, you will not think us altogether asleep. We have known these things have been designed. We have known attempts have been in the army to seduce them, and almost the greatest confidence hath been in the army to break us and divide us.

I speak it in the presence of some of the army, and I must tell you those things, they have not been according to God nor according to truth, they have not. I do deal faithfully with you. Whilst I have seen the tendency of those things to be nothing else, pretend what you will, but the playing of the King of Scots his game, if I may so say, by beginning tumults and disturbances amongst us, I think myself bound as before God to do what I can to prevent it, that they go no further. I tell you, nay I thought it my duty in conscience to tell you what I told you at the last meeting in the Banqueting House, when both the Houses met me there; I did tell you and I told you truly and that which (God is my witness) is more confirmed to me since; is more confirmed to me within a day or two than I knew of then, that the King of Scots hath an army at the waterside, drawn down towards the waterside, ready to be shipped for England. I tell you that I know this from their own mouths and from eye-witnesses of it, and that they are in a very great preparation to attempt upon us. And whilst that is doing, endeavours from some not far from this place to stir up the people of this town into tumultuating, what if I said rebellion—and I hope I shall make it appear to be no better if God assist me. It is not only that, but endeavours hath been to pervert the army whilst you have been sitting, yea and to draw the army to the state of a question, a Commonwealth, a Commonwealth. If we have an enemy from the other side of the water ready to invade us, we have [also] men listing persons under Charles Stuart's commission to cavaliers to join with any insurrection that may be here, and our Army endeavoured to be perverted. I beseech you all of you to judge with what hope or comfort or possibility of reason indeed can it be expected that we must not presently run into blood and confusion. And if this be so, and that I assign it to this cause (that which I do heartily and assuredly)[1] even to the not assenting to that that you did invite me to, [that] that advice might be the settling of the nation and might usher in any further advantages that might be for the public good of these nations; if this, I say,[2] be the effect of your sitting under those carriages, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting and I do declare to you here that I do dissolve this Parliament. Let God judge between you and me.*

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[1] Probably means "if this is."

[2] Inserted in the margin.

[1] "accomdly" in MS.
[2] "see" in MS. But perhaps it should be "if this I see to be."

* Report sent to Mr. Pell, English agent in Switzerland. *Lansdowne MSS.* 754, f. 342.

139

(After Speech XVIII)

Speech to the Army Officers, February 6, 1657-8

On February 6, the Protector summoned the Officers to Whitehall and made a speech to them, which has not been preserved, but of which Dugdale gives a summary in a letter to a friend, dated Feb. 13.

"On this day sevenight, his Highness made a long speech to all the officers of his army, setting forth the story of our times from 3 Caroli, and therein his own, and how that the authority he hath is a thing far from his own seeking: as also of his calling this Parliament, whereunto, being advised by his Council, he yielded, though he professed it, in his own judgment, no way seasonable. Next, of the necessity of his dissolving it, in order to the public safety, professing his zeal thereto, and intention to govern by the laws, except in case of urgent necessity, wherein he must be constrained to have recourse to extraordinary ways; but it seems his rhetoric did not charm them all, for I hear that seventeen or eighteen have either laid down their commissions or that they are taken from them, and 'tis said that six of the officers of his regiment of horse are in restraint at a private house near Charing Cross.* Here hath been an expectance of a Declaration from his Highness to satisfy the world for this his dissolving this Parliament, but as yet we see it not. And a great noise we have had of a proclamation for banishing the Cavaliers and Papists twenty miles from this City, but I hope it will prove no more than a rumour. So likewise of new Decimations and many other ways for raising vast sums of money, which perhaps arise more from people's fancies than any true ground." †

The effect of the Protector's "rhetoric" is very differently described by one of his own party. Hartlib, writing on Feb. 11 to Pell, says: "All the officers of the army attended his Highness on Saturday last in the Banqueting House, where they were entertained with a speech of two hours long, which made them afresh resolve to stand and fall, live and die, with my Lord Protector." (See *Parl. Hist.* xxi. 205.)

His Highness seems to have entertained them with other things besides long speeches, for another writer says that he "made a great feast in the Cockpit for all his chief commanders within two or three days after he broke up the Parliament, where (as it is reported) he drank wine very plenteously with them."[1]

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* The six officers dismissed, though apparently not "restrained," were Major Packer, Captains Gladman, Malyn, Barrington and Spinage, and Capt.-Lieut. Hunter. See *Clarke Papers*, iii. 140, 141.

† Calendar of the Duke of Sutherland's MSS. *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 177.

140

Speech to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London

Whitehall, on Friday, March 12, 1657-8.

"The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Common Council of the city being come in a full number to attend his Highness at Whitehall on Friday, March the 12th, they found there many of the commanders and officers of the army, who were all admitted to his Highness' presence, who in a large speech did represent unto them the great deliverances which God hath vouchsafed to this nation, during the whole course and progress of the late wars, from the violence of their implacable enemies, and their combinations both public and domestic. He represented unto them how eminently God had owned and prospered him in the great work in which he stood interested for the establishment of righteousness and peace; and at this present he could not but declare unto them the imminent danger in which both the city and the whole nation was like to be involved by reason of the contrivements of Charles Stuart and his party both at home and abroad, who secretly have used the utmost of their endeavours to embroil the nation and this city—the principal place at which they aim—in a new war, which suddenly would appear as soon as ever their intended invasion should take effect. To make the truth of this discovery more apparent, his Highness insisted that he knew it to be true, and not only by letters of his and the city's adversaries which were intercepted but by certain intelligence from several other hands beyond the seas of their proceedings, as also by information from the mouths of such persons who had promised to engage themselves to comply and act with them. And to make this yet more manifest, he informed that the Lord of Ormond—whom by his own party is now called the Duke of Ormond—had been in person in this city for three weeks together,[2] being come out of Flanders on purpose to draw all unto him that possibly he could by encouraging and engaging them to forsake all other interests, to adhere unto the cause of his Master. His Highness did also acquaint them that he having used his uttermost endeavours to promote the cause for which he came, he departed privately from London on Tuesday, March the ninth.

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[1] Calendar of the Duke of Sutherland's MSS., p. 166.
[2] See p. 194 above.

But what was above all, he declared that in order to this invasion Charles Stuart was waiting in Flanders, having got together an army of about eight thousand horse and foot, whom he had quartered in several commodious places near unto the sea-side, as Bruges, Brussels, Ostend and other places; and that withal he had contracted for two and twenty ships, who were in readiness to transport his army, and only waited for the opportunity of some dark night to slip by the English fleet, when the mist had covered the face of the sea; and in being ships of no great burden, he represented that the ships of the enemy had some advantage over our ships, who were of a great burden and drawing much water, and therefore not able to ride upon the flats. He concluded that seeing the dangers was so apparent and so near at hand, and that the safety and the peace of the city and the whole nation was highly concerned in it, he desired the city to be sensible of it, and laid open to them how deeply it concerned them to provide for their own security and the security of the whole nation.

He therefore recommended to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Common Council of the city there assembled, the settling of their militia, and that it might be established in the hands of faithful and pious men, and such as are free from all discontent and faction, to put the city in a posture of defence, that they may be ready to suppress all tumults and insurrections designed by the enemy against the peace and safety of the city.

This and much more to this effect his Highness represented, as to the transaction of the affairs of State from the beginning of the wars unto this present, and the happy propagation of the gospel in these three nations."

On their return to the city, the old tract informs us, "they did immediately, like true patriots to their country, resolve to act something that, in such a juncture of time, might render them famous to posterity, and to that end they immediately issued out their orders to the commanders of the several regiments in the city of London to summon in all the inhabitants . . . who have or are in a capacity to be enlisted, who very cheerfully appeared, and declared their honest resolutions to maintain the government now established with the hazard of their lives and fortunes."*

A letter amongst the Duke of Sutherland's MSS., dated March 20, says: "The city are putting themselves into a posture of arms according to the Protector's [speech to the] Court of Aldermen and Common Council." An earlier one, written on March 6, states: "It is reported that the Protector cannot take his natural sleep at night, but cries out upon Monck, Monck, so that it seems there is something in Scotland troubles him."[1]

141

To the Council in Scotland

April 15th, 1658.

Oliver, by the grace of God, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to our well-beloved Council in Scotland, greeting:—

Whereas, for about the space of one hundred years last past, the Gospel (blessed be God) hath been plentifully preached in the Lowlands of the said nation, and competent maintenance provided for the Ministry there, yet little or no care hath been taken for a very numerous people inhabiting in the Highlands by the establishing of ministry, or a maintenance, where the greatest part have scarce heard whether there be an Holy Ghost or not, though there be some in several parts, as we are informed, that hunger and thirst after the means of salvation, and that there is a concealed maintenance detained in unrighteousness, and diverted from the right ends to the sole benefit of particular persons; and being also informed that there hath been much revenue for many years together in the late King's time, and since concealed and detained from us by such persons as have no right or title thereunto; and that some Ministers that were acquainted with the Highland language have in a late summer season visited those parts, and been courteously used by many professing their breathings after the Gospel: We do therefore, in consideration of their sad condition, the great honour and glory of God, and the good that may redound to the souls of many poor ignorant creatures, will and require you with all care, industry and conveniency to find out a way and means for the planting of the Gospel in those parts. And that in pursuance thereof, and the better carrying on so pious a work, our Barons of our Exchequer in Scotland do search and find out six hundred pounds per annum, out of concealed estates and revenues belonging to us, or that may belong unto us and our successors. And to issue forth and pay the same unto such person or persons as by our said Council shall be nominated and appointed out of such concealed rents or any other concealed revenues whatsoever, quarterly or half yearly, as there shall be cause, by and with their consent and approbation, to the only use and end aforesaid; for which so doing this shall be yours and their warrant.

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* *A Discovery made by his Highnesse the Lord Protector to the Lord Mayor, etc.* (E. 1644, at the end of the volume); also *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 407 (E. 748, 23) and *Public Intelligencer*, No. 126 (E. 748, 22); reprinted in *Cromwelliana*, p. 171. There are allusions to the speech in the *Clarke MSS.* and the *State Papers.* (See *Clarke Papers*, iii. 143, and *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 328). See also Thurloe, vii. 3.

[1] See Appendix to *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 166.

Witness ourself at our palace at Westminster the day 1658.*

142

To the Mayors, Bailiffs and Jurats of the Cinque Ports

1658, April 17, Whitehall.—Understanding that persons daily land from beyond seas, as well in the ports as in creeks and bye-places, and that "by their wandering up and down and other carriages they show themselves to be dangerous persons, and come over with a design against the peace of the Commonwealth;"—he desires them to cause some of their troops to be always near the landing places, with orders to secure all such persons, until they be examined and can give an account of themselves and their business. The officers of the ports to do the like to such as land in or attempt to pass from the said ports. With warrant of assistance.†

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* Copy. *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* I., 78, pp. 557, 558.

† Copy amongst the MSS. of Rye Corporation. Printed in the Appendix, part 4, of the *Thirteenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, p. 230.

143

To Mr. Pell

Whitehall, May 6, 1658.

Sir,

The state of affairs being much altered in those parts, so that your longer abode there seemeth not so necessary, and that your return hither may be more serviceable to us, I have thought fit hereby to recall you; therefore you will do well, having taken your leave there in the best manner, to repair homewards, that we may receive from you the account of your whole negotiation, and you from us the encouragements which you have deserved. So I rest,

Your loving friend,
(Signed) Oliver P.*

By his Highness's command. J. Thurloe.

Pell states that he was sent for on March 2, 1654, by the Protector, who proposed to him the Mission to Switzerland. He left London on April 5, and "so from Westminster to Zurich, 43 days. Our way was crooked and at least 700 miles long." He received the Protector's letter of recall on May 22, 1658, left Zurich on June 26, and reached home on August 13. On the 24th (the day the Protector came to Whitehall) he went to London, hoping for an interview, but Oliver was probably too ill to see him.

144

To Captain Stoakes, in the Straits or elsewhere

1658, May 21, Whitehall.—Sending him the petition of Lazaro Armenio, with the papers of the Admiralty thereon, and praying him to deal with the poor man according to equity and good conscience.†

145

(After Letter CCXXV)

To Henry Cromwell

June 1, 1658.

Harry Cromwell,

I write not often to you. Now I think myself engaged to my dear cousin Whalley to lay my commands upon you that you show all loving respect to his eldest son by his present lady, whom you are to receive in the room of his eldest brother, both into his command and into your affection.[1] I assure you, though he be so nearly related to us, as you know, yet I could not importune on his behalf so heartily as now I can upon the score of his own worth; which indeed is as remarkable as I believe in any of ten thousand of his years. He is excellent in the Latin, French and Italian tongues; of good other learning, with parts suitable; and, which completes this testimony, is hopefully seasoned with religious principles. Let him be much with you, and use him as your own. Being most serious in this desire, and expecting a suitable return thereunto, I rest

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* *Lansdowne MSS.* 754, f. 400. Printed in Vaughan's *Protectorate*, ii. 335.
† *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, clxxxii. no. 43, iv.

Your loving father,
OLIVER P.*

P.S. My love to your dear wife and the two babes.

146

To the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company and to Hen. Hills and John Field, printers

1658, June 22, Whitehall.—Authorising and ordering them to put in execution the acts against the publishing of unlicensed, scandalous and seditious books.†

147

[*To the Mayor and Commonalty of Chester*]

1658, June 23, Westminster.—Grant to the Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of the city of Chester, of the patronage and care of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in the same city; with further grant of the office of keeper or warden of the hospital to the Mayor of Chester for the time being, to have and hold the said office during his mayoralty and no longer, and in like manner to every succeeding Mayor for the time being.*

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[1] This was Cornet Richard Whalley, second son of Col. Edward, the Protector's cousin. The eldest son, John, was also a cornet. He afterwards sat in Richard's parliament, but was at this time in the Tower, in consequence of fighting a duel with Lord Chesterfield.

* Printed in Waylen's *House of Cromwell*, p. 295, and there stated to be in the possession of John R. W. Whalley, Esq. See *Notes and Queries*, June 26, 1869.

† *S. P. Dom. Interregnum* I., 78, pp. 709-711.

148

For our Dear Son the Lord Henry Cromwell, our Deputy of Ireland

Hampton Court, July 16, 1658.

Son [Harry],

I have received a Petition from Lieut.-Col. Nelson touching his transporting Irish into Spain, desiring thereby that he may have some satisfaction for his losses sustained in that business out of lands in Ireland. I do believe he hath been a very great sufferer, and that his sufferings have been of some advantage to Ireland, by carrying away those people thence. And I know and so do you, the services of the said Lieut.-Colonel performed in his own person, and how well he hath deserved for the same of the Commonwealth. For those considerations I was, and am, exceeding willing and indeed desirous, that something might be done for him, which might not only repair his losses but be a mark of favour to him. And therefore, although I have not done the thing he desires, as judging it not to be within my power, yet I do most earnestly recommend him unto you, desiring that you and the Council would take him and his case into consideration, and put him in some way that may answer his said losses, without which I believe he and his family will be in a very ill condition. And if you shall agree of any thing to be done by me therein you shall find me most ready to do it. And so I rest,

Your affectionate father,

Oliver P.†

149

(After Letter CLXXXVII)

The following short note is written to Edmund Dunch of Little Wittenham, Berkshire, the son of Oliver's aunt Mary and father of the John Dunch of Pusey, who married Anne Mayor, Richard Cromwell's sister-in-law (see vol. i., p. 411). Edmund Dunch was an important man in his county, sat as M.P. for Wallingford, was on the County Committee, and is stated by some authorities to have been made Governor of Wallingford Castle by Cromwell. This is probably an error (Colonel Evelyn seems to have held the post at the date given), but he was undoubtedly created Baron Burnell by Oliver, although the title was not recognized after the Restoration. His wife, a descendant of the Burnell family and a great heiress, was the only daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford of Down Ampney, in Gloucestershire. A Restoration writer says of Dunch: "He was the husband of that fine Mrs. Dunch; was a great favourite with the Protector, and had a patent to be lord of the Lord knows what".[1] Unfortunately the lady's letter, alluded to by Cromwell, has not been preserved.

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* MSS. of the Corporation of Chester. Calendared in the *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix 1, p. 361.

† *Letters from the Lord Protector etc.*, 1654-8, $\frac{A}{28}$, p. 191. Public Record Office, Dublin.

For my Honoured Cousin, Edmund Dunch esquire at Dounamnie, these.

Cockpit, March 19, 1652[-3].

Sir,

I received this enclosed from your lady, to which I returned this answer: I wish you always both of one mind in that which is your duty one to another and to your children, and rest,

Your affectionate cousin,
O. Cromwell.*

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[1] *Mysteries of the Good Old Cause*, 1660.

* Holograph. Seal of Arms. This letter, kindly communicated by Mr. Pelham Papillon, was received too late to be put in its proper place.

The End.

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